Social Justice and Localities: the Allocation of Council Housing in Tower Hamlets

Lowe, Jennifer Maureen

Jennifer Maureen Lowe

Social Justice and Localities: the Allocation of Council Housing in Tower Hamlets

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
Queen Mary College
Ph.D. Thesis March 2004

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with social justice in the distribution of social goods from public institutions. It seeks to determine applicable theoretical perspectives of social justice suitable for allocating council housing. The thesis reviews different moral principles related to procedural and distributive justice concepts in the rationing of public goods. The research particularly draws on views proposed by authors who have theorised social justice as universal or pluralist in nature and for groups, institutions or territories. Literature and policy concerning the purpose and history of the council housing sector and the relationship to social justice also informs the work. Emphasis is placed on housing as a basic human need and the links to disadvantaged and excluded groups and localities. Research techniques are triangulated in four case studies, of council housing in Tower Hamlets, between 1984 and 1998. Public and restricted documents concerning administration of council housing in the borough and interview data with tenants and housing officials are used in two case studies. Computerised data from housing records are used in a further two case studies. The research showed that the intervention of the Commission for Racial Equality, using a legal interpretation of social justice, led to actions that reduced discrimination in the housing allocation system. Within the borough localities, the research identified decentralised governance and stakeholders actions as contributing and influencing the contestation of justice in housing procedures and outcomes. New tenancies analysed in terms of different concepts of social justice, showed that some criteria of justice were met, but those placing strongest emphasis on reducing inequalities were not achieved. The location of housing received by groups in Tower Hamlets appears to contribute to continuing spatial polarisation. New residential areas perpetuated disadvantage for some groups.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge a number of people who assisted and encouraged me throughout this study. I would like to thank three people, who mentored and guided me in my academic studies at University of London, Queen Mary College. Foremost, the work of Professor Ken Young of the Department of Politics who nurtured my ideas and encouraged me to undertake this research. This was followed by the unequivocal support and instruction of my two supervisors in the department of Geography. Professor David M Smith provided expert guidance in developing my initial work, and Professor Sarah Curtis who assisted in communicating my ideas for the finished thesis.

I am greatly indebted to the Economic and Social Research Council who funded this research, and for colleagues and friends in the Geography department of Queen Mary College who I have shared many experiences with during my study.

My deepest gratitude goes to family and friends who constantly kept me in their prayers and helped me in many practical ways. Thanks to my three children who have persevered, luckily unscathed throughout the years of this study. Special mention goes to my friend and colleague Jane Xavier-Small, whose steadfast support inspired me to complete this thesis in memory of her late husband Richard Small.

Finally, I give my appreciation and thanks to the many contacts in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, without whose help and co-operation I would not have been able to carry out this research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF TABLES contd.

LIST OF TABLES contd.

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF MAPS

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

ABBREVIATIONS

LA	Local Authority
CRE	Commission For Racial Equality
DETR	Department of Environment Transport and the Regions
DTLR	Department for Transport Local Government and Regions
EU	European Union
FI	CRE Formal Investigation
GLC	Greater London Council
HIP	Housing Investment Programme
LBTH	London Borough of Tower Hamlets
LGO	Local Government Ombudsman
LRC	London Research Centre
NCWP	New Commonwealth and West Pakistan
NDN	Non Discrimination Notice
ODPM	Office of the Deputy Prime Minster
RTB	Right To Buy
SHPRS	Spitalfields Housing and Planning Rights Service
THHA	Tower Hamlets Health Authority
THHFC	Tower Hamlets Homeless Families Campaign
UN	United Nations

CHAPTER 1

THE VALUE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

"I believe, the history of the human race has been a struggle for the removal of mental, moral and spiritual oppression, and we would have failed had we not made our contribution to the struggle" Robert Sobukwe (Amoah, 1989: 195)[1].

1.1 THESIS AIMS

This thesis investigates the value of social justice as a workable concept for rationing public goods. The thesis examines the application of concepts of social justice to policy for allocation of local authority housing. Research questions are explored through four case studies conducted between 1984 and 1998, in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. The questions are concerned with how different aspects of council housing allocation could be represented using theories of social justice. Special attention is given to how procedures and outcomes can be explained in a specific locality, using theories of social justice as a method of interpreting just outcomes. The general aims of the thesis are to address the following questions.

1. How relevant are concepts of social justice for the distribution and allocation of social goods?
2. Who are the main stakeholders in social housing and how do their notions of social justice affect just procedures and outcomes for localities?
3. What implicit or explicit theories of social justice can be inferred from outcomes of new housing tenancies for different groups in council housing?
4. How can allocations of housing be interpreted in terms of the spatial dimensions of justice?

The research questions all raise issues about social justice and the potential to apply cogent and effective theory to practical policy situations.

[1] This quote expounds the validity of moral principles in society, and places the study of social justice in this thesis as an attempt to contribute to the importance of justice in society.

1.2 ELEMENTS OF THE THESIS

This thesis has four elements namely: social justice, housing policy, stakeholders and localities. These components focus the investigation throughout the research and are the basis for the case study research. The following discussion introduces the background for the thesis elements.

Social Justice

Social justice is hypothesised as being a founding principle underpinning ethical and moral decisions between groups, institutions, localities and nations (Campbell, 1990; Cullen, 1992; Ryan, 1993). While social justice is a well-known universal notion, most theoretical discourse is concerned with ideal notions of social justice (for example Rawls, 1972; Walzer, 1983; Barry, 1995). These abstract models can be difficult to apply at a practical local level (Sterba, 1980; Scherer, 1992; Loftman et al., 1994). Justice in this thesis is concerned with two theoretical tasks: first, selecting relevant distributive and procedural justice theories, and secondly, applying these to real situations. Chapter 2 discusses the literature on definitions of justice and the conceptual steps necessary to move from the normative theory to empirical application. The thesis reviews theories of justice and shows how a model of justice would actually be operationalised. The conclusion sets out a revised framework for justice developed from the research.

Housing Policy

The thesis describes council housing as a distributive state mechanism which requires a method of rationing and distribution that is fair to those who require it (Burke, 1981; Commission on Social Justice, 1994a; CRE, 1991a). The position of council housing is argued as a primary social good (Rawls, 1972: 91) meeting a fundamental human need for shelter (Doyal and Gough, 1991: 196), this provides relevancy for the examination of social justice (discussed in Chapter 3). In Chapter 3, I explain how I propose to use Elster's (1992: 187) conventions of defining, 'allocation' as a process of distribution and 'distribution' as the outcome, i.e. the quantities of goods possessed by recipients in the final state. The process of developing allocation policy is a

negotiated terrain involving different stakeholder, in this view policy is the outcome of groups exercising choice within the political arena (Doling, 1997: 69).

Two processes related to policy and outcomes are important in understanding housing policy and justice. Policy differentiation denotes fundamental changes in the issues a policy addresses. Policy variations are the result of implementing changes in management policies, especially where policies produce unexpected outcomes (Ham and Hill, 1984). The case studies mainly focus on this latter type of change. The formulation and implementation of policy are of particular interest to the thesis. The detailed development of housing policy in a case study area is explored in the analysis in Chapters 5 to 8.

Council housing allocation is a multi-stage procedure where different administrative practices take place. Within the allocation process, each allocation stage links to different policy objectives and administrative procedures. Table 1.1 shows that each policy objectives is linked to a allocation procedures that aims to achieve universal concepts of justice. These objectives can result in conflicts of interest in achieving justice and meeting the aims of policy. The case studies investigate notions of justice in housing policy at different stages in the allocation process. These are examined in Chapters 5 to 8, which examine council housing objectives and focus on various aspects of allocation policy in Tower Hamlets.

Table 1.1 Allocation Policy Objectives and Administrative Procedures

TYPE OF PROCESS	POLICY OBJECTIVES IN ALLOCATION	ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE
Input	Policies for registering applicants	Applying
Input	Policies to set housing priority	Assessing
Thoroughputs	Policies for particular housing schemes	Rationing
Thoroughputs	Policies to decide offers	Number of offers made
Thoroughputs	Policies to manage local stock	Estate management
Outputs	Policies to monitor outcomes	Evaluation
Outputs	Policies to set targets for applicant groups	Managing demand

Source: Developed from Malpass and Murie, 1994: 15; Doling, 1997: 10.

Council Housing Stakeholders

The varying interests of stakeholders contribute to the contested nature of social justice in the council housing system (Short, 1982: 11-13). Stakeholders and their interests are identified in Chapter 3, illustrating some problematic issues when interpreting justice. These groups consist of local authority housing officials, applicants, community groups, councillors, government/quasi government organisations and public opinion. The case studies in Chapter 5 and 6 investigate how stakeholder interests influence development of just policies. Chapter 5 and 6 also show how social justice conceptions are used to assess how different theories may be operating in decisions and actions that pertain to the allocation system for various stakeholders. Special significance is given to the role of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) in the period 1986 to 1992; particular attention is given to the analysis of policy changes that reflected universal notions of social justice. Questions concerning the extent to which local authorities meets the housing needs of different applicants are also interpreted through the evaluation of housing outcomes.

In Chapters 7 and 8 council allocations to homeless applicants and ethnic minority groups are particularly important for this research as social justice was strongly related to disadvantage. In addition, the London Borough of Tower Hamlets had high levels of deprivation, where home ownership and private rented accommodation were not affordable for the majority of the population. The demography of the area also causes some problems for a high dependence on council housing allocation. Thus, the scope for the existence of plural notions of justice increases and is a serious concern to the execution of fair and just allocation policy.

Localities and Justice

An understanding of the spatial aspects of social justice is an important element of this thesis. The spatial dimension is important to the understanding of justice and therefore locality is important to this thesis. Massey's (1991) view that localities are not only spatial structures but that they are also defined by the interactions taking place within them is particularly relevant here. The question of what locality means to different groups in housing is a fundamental issue for this thesis. A review of

geography and related disciplines either identifies locality as simply bounded space or it can be more complex with multiple interpretations, referring to area, location, situation or place (Duncan 1989; Massey, 1991; Jackson, 1991). Table 1.2 is based on concepts of locality drawn from different disciplines expressing various views of locality.

Table 1.2 Concepts of Locality from Different Disciplinary P-erspectives

WHICH DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE	CONSTRUCTION OF LOCALITY AS PLACE	DESCRIPTION OF LOCALITY	PROCESS TAKING PLACE IN LOCALITY
Administrative Geography	As Jurisdictional partitions	**Administrative area for decisions making**	Resource allocation and service specificity
Psychology, Anthropology Cultural Geography	As Territory	**Mental map or location**	Formation of identity
Economic Development Regional Geography	An Economic Region	**Area with particular local economies and housing markets**	Planning spatial structure economic development
Community Studies Welfare Geography Urban Geography Demography	As Communities	**Location where relationships and certain types of groups develop**	Social Interaction a sense of participation
Political Science Political Geography	Neighbourhoods	**Place of action, Political constituency**	Forum of political solidarity and collective struggles
Philosophy/Ethics	Cultural Villages	**Locality where moral codes are learnt**	Sense of rights, justice, morality

Source: (Dickens, 1988; Gregson, 1987; Herbert and Thomas, 1990; Pratt, 1991).

Table 1.2 identifies various conceptions of justice that provide relevant understandings of locality for this research. Each stakeholder group often interprets locality differently and this is reflected in the case studies. For example a neighbourhood was considered an 'administrative area' in the decentralised structure;

an applicant may have 'mental map' of the locality they would like to be housed; a 'local housing market' may be the view of locality to housing mangers concerned with demands and stock of housing; a 'place of action' and a 'moral domain' can be connected to the concept of locality for individuals and stakeholders groups. The complex nature of locality and the varying interpretation by stakeholders, contributors to the pivotal role for locality in the research.

Locality as 'place' is an important factor in the interpretation of justice. This can be substantiated by Urry (1990) and Duncan (1989) who put forward the view that locality provides a powerful tool to aid understanding of what actually happens in a particular identified space. For this thesis locality will refer to distinct geographical areas within the local authority. These are used as administrative areas for council housing, as well as political units for local government, and have some salience as local 'communities'. The thesis considers social justice in relation to differences between localities of the borough. Chapter 6 investigates locality variations in policy and outcomes between localities. Chapter 8 on spatial outcomes for housing received focuses on the distributive concentrations of housing and groups in different localities.

These four elements constitute the research themes. They can be summarised by developing four questions and answers, which produce the research rationale for the thesis.

Table 1.3 Elements of the Thesis

QUESTION OF CONCERN	THEMES To BE EXPLORED
1) What is the research about?	Concerns distribution of social goods and the validity of social justice.
2) Which Policy arena?	Related to institutional justice in council housing allocation policy.
3) Who are the actors?	Connected to stakeholders in different arenas and the groups that receive housing.
4) Where is the location?	Related to different geographical areas, within the boundaries of the local authority.

1.3 OUTLINE OF THESIS

The research aims (stated earlier) identified the issues investigated in this thesis. From the aims, four research questions have been raised that connect the aims to the method of enquiry:

- How is justice in the allocation of social housing interpreted, legally and in policy and practice?
- Who are the main stakeholders involved in social housing and how do they affect decision-making?
- What are the outcomes of allocation of new tenancies for social housing in terms of fair allocations to different groups of people needing housing?
- What are the geographical outcomes of housing allocation, are these fair, and how are they linked to socio-economic factors such as race and deprivation?

These research questions are addressed in the following chapters. Chapter 2 provides a literature review of notions and theories of social justice and identifies an appropriate model of justice for allocation of social goods. Chapter 3 introduces council housing as an important subject for social justice; it identifies social justice as the main aim of council housing, linking this to the disadvantage suffered by many recipients. Chapter 4 outlines a triangulated research methodology. Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 utilise data from several case studies to answer the research questions. Chapter 5 concentrates on procedural justice through legal and universal interpretations. Using three examples, Chapter 6 examines various stakeholder representation of justice. Chapter 7, using evidence of housing received, focuses on the quality of housing received using outcome data. Analysis in Chapter 8 concerns the socio-economic characteristics of localities in which housing is available using a sample of computerised housing records. Whilst the four case study chapters focus on individual research questions, each contains discussion of other elements of social justice. Chapter 9 draws together the research findings and recommends a framework of social justice suitable for housing allocation in Tower Hamlets in the 1990s. The conclusion confirms the relevance of social justice to distribution of council housing, expounding the general lesson that elements of social justice are important and could be interpreted in contemporary and future allocation policy.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL JUSTICE: UNIVERSAL AND PLURALIST VIEWS

"We must destroy all ideologies that tend to divide us. All of us must register a new era of justice, equality, equal opportunity for everyone from every part of the world, regardless of creed, race and colour" William S Tubman (Amoah, 1989: 46).

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines theories and principles of social justice that may be applicable in the allocation of social goods, particularly those that are beneficial in examining the rationing of council housing. The chapter is in six sections. Section 2.2 defines social justice as being in the public domain. It introduces social justice as being concerned with justice between groups, as opposed to at an individual level. Section 2.3 makes a distinction between procedural and distributive justice as valid terms that are useful to describe distributions and procedures in housing. The moral principles underlying notions of justice are explored in section 2.4. These provide the ethical base for social justice theory. Section 2.5 discusses a number of relevant social justice views that can be applied to social goods. These provide individual interpretations of social justice moving from traditional to more recent conceptions of justice. The discussion in section 2.6 brings together moral principles and individual views of social justice to produce four perspectives of social justice. These represent different aspects of justice in council housing. The conclusion in section 2.7 demonstrate the parameters of justice that are used in the research. This is extrapolated from the discussion of social justice views and perspectives which illustrates how individual conceptions contribute to the theoretical framework of the thesis.

2.2 DEFINING SOCIAL JUSTICE

"Justice is like a greased pig, it yells loudly but is hard to catch" (Tornblom, 1992: 177). From classical to modern times the term justice has had various interpretations. However, throughout the centuries there is one definition which philosophers and writers have used as a starting point. It began with the early statement made by Plato that "Justice is the constant and perpetual will of rendering to everyone his due"

(Campbell, 1988: 4; Diggs, 1974: 145; Miller, 1976: 20). Another classical philosopher Aristotle, later introduced some clarity into this statement by dividing justice into two categories: distributive justice concerned with honour and wealth, and rectificatory justice concerned with transactions (Ryan, 1993: 9).

Today there is still no universal consensus on what constitutes justice. This leads to a variety of conceptions of justice existing in society at any one time (Campbell, 1990; Barry, 1995; Kymlicka, 1992). Retributive justice is concerned with justice as punishment and attempts to administer suitable punishment for delinquent behaviour or injury to others. There is also justice linked to historical processes. It operates over time and is defined as compensatory justice (Gosling, 1991). The objective of this type of justice is compensation for past injustices, or current inequalities that are the results of historical events. Another concept of justice is natural justice based on human nature and humanist virtues of the good, which is not always easily identifiable (Ryan, 1993: 6-7). The notions of justice with which this thesis is concerned are distributive and procedural justice. Procedural justice contrasts with natural justice, consisting of recognised rules that are formalised into procedures. Currently distributive justice is concerned with methods of rationing or redistributing certain goods. Distribution in this sense is a way of achieving equality or opportunity by increasing benefits or reducing burdens for disadvantaged or less fortunate groups.

It is also useful to think of justice in terms of certain domains in society. This relates to where justice is dispensed and the type of goods that justice is concerned with. There are four main domains, each concerned with specific goods: economic justice deals with money or employment, political justice concerns political power, criminal justice relates to sentencing policy and the legal system. The fourth domain, social justice, affects goods dispensed through public institutions in government and social agencies. These are public goods such as social housing, education, health and welfare services that are dispensed to individuals and groups in society. Distribution among groups is most pertinent to this thesis.

Bell and Schokkaert (1992) identified two essential elements in any theory of justice. First that justice is usually concerned with *interpersonal relationships* and that this is seen in the way we organise our institutions and communities. Second, that justice gives rise to *rights and duties* and as such, it is more important and indeed prominent in some relationships such as that between the state and citizen, employer and employee, business and client. For this research the definition is useful. It emphasises the nature of justice as being about the relationships between groups, whether in communities or institutions, and this gives rise to its complexity. Secondly, it shows that justice is related to rights and duties and demonstrates the moral natures of justice. In Bell and Schokkaert's (1992) terms, justice for housing tenants means examining the relationship between the different housing applicant groups and the local authority housing department. Extending this analysis would then involve determining the rights and duties between the local authority as a social landlord and its stakeholders.

Social justice for this research will be linked to two concepts. One of the key concepts in question is equality. A simple definition states that it is a condition where each part is equal in quantity, value or intensity (Jary and Jary, 1999). The problem in defining equality appears when it is linked to different domains of justice such as economic, criminal, and social justice. Associated with each domain are conceptions of equality that produce particular complexity such as equality before the law, economic equality, and equality in society (McKerlie, 1996). Within the social domain assessing the many considerations that describe equality, including individual, group, institutional and geographical factors all contribute to the difficulty of reaching a consensus view.

Injustice is the second concept and is described as a state of inequality, the opposite of equality. Shklar (1990: 5-7) who focused on defining injustice, argued that it was a contradictory concept based on personal views and experiences but also involved visible public recognition. This situation produces difficulties in defining injustice. Shklar (1990: 5) argues that this is where the role of law is important. Injustice is interpreted legally as various types of unacceptable behaviour, for example, unfair

treatment or discrimination. The existence of injustice provides society with a visible indicator or benchmark from which to see the unacceptable (Shklar, 1990: 7). Thus, in applying social justice to the distribution of social goods an understanding of injustice is necessary. This provides awareness of the failure of justice, and illustrates circumstances that should not have occurred if social justice had been achieved. The construction of injustice and the identification of possible inequalities in housing are important questions for this thesis.

An initial question for any research about justice is the choice of goods that justice is concerned with. There are various types; this can be a primary good, for example, liberty and freedom or public goods such as health, education welfare and housing provision. For this research the goods that will be assessed are social goods (Elster, 1992). An important issue in investigating theory in this chapter is whether the research focus should be on justice for individuals or groups. Connected to this is the notion of whether justice should relate to a small (local) scale with pluralist models of justice operating in a society or a large (global) scale with universal models.

Although council housing is allocated to individual households, this analysis of the housing process is based on aggregated data that principally examines the position of groups and populations of neighbourhoods. Individual applicants seeking council housing are evaluated according to criteria of how their housing needs compare with those of other applicants. While applicants are assessed in terms of how they measure against a set of individual criteria, it can be argued that council housing allocation focuses on housing various groups, for example homeless groups. Their position is comparatively, assessed against applicants with similar circumstances in other groups, such as tenants transferred from one council dwelling to another (DTLR, 1998). Models of social justice considered useful here are those concerned with justice for groups. This thesis therefore focuses on distributive and procedural justice as they relate to the domain of social justice for groups in society and space.

2.3 DISTINCTION BETWEEN PROCEDURAL AND DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE

Increasing the understanding of what social justice means for this thesis can be found by deconstructing the terms distributive and procedural justice. Distributive justice attempts to tackle inequalities that are perceived to arise from an unfair distribution of goods and is usually concerned with the issue of reducing perceived inequalities. It tends to focus on the appropriateness of who gets a benefit or burden in the distributive process. Within the concept of distributive justice there are different notions as to how the distributions of benefits and burdens can take place.

Procedural justice is often categorised by its domain, whether it is used in non-judicial or judicial procedures. In the legal sense procedural justice involves judicial decision making, where procedures serve the purpose of structuring methods for treating each person as equal (Bell and Schokkaert, 1992: 240-241). Generally, procedural justice relates to methods or procedures undertaken to carry out specific tasks in the process of achieving distributive justice. Thus, we can distinguish between whether an allocation system offers just results (distributive justice) or fair methods for achieving results (procedural justice).

Rawls (1972: 84-87) makes a distinction between three different types of procedural justice by focusing on the three characteristics which he saw as defining the process of social justice (see Table 2.1). The characteristics are: an independent standard or criterion to assess what is fair, devised separately from, and prior to, the procedure; fair procedure or methods through an institution; and finally, correct or just outcomes or distributions. The three types of distributive justice produced are perfect procedural, imperfect procedural and pure procedural justice. Rawls argues that the three characteristics rarely exist together as a whole, to produce perfect procedural justice (as illustrated in the first row of Table 2.1). Institutions, he argued, operate either under a system of imperfect procedural or pure procedural justice (*op cit.* 86).

Table 2.1 Rawls' Three Types of Procedural Justice

PROCEDURAL SYSTEMS OF JUSTICE	STANDARDS CRITERION	CHARACTERISTIC OF PROCEDURES	CHARACTERISTIC OF DISTRIBUTION
	Independent Standards	Fair methods procedures through institution	Independent criterion of a Fair Outcome
PERFECT PROCEDURAL Dividing a cake in equal slices	X	X	X
IMPERFECT PROCEDURAL Law Courts	X	O	X
PURE PROCEDURAL Distribution of social goods	O	X	O

Source: Adapted from Rawls (1972: 84-87).

Key: X = the characteristic is found

0 = the characteristic is not found

Rawls argues that justice in the distribution of social goods is usually, at best, pure procedural (see Table 2.1). A simple example of perfect procedural justice would be the division of a cake on the basis that everyone should have equal shares and the procedure for division makes all the slices the same size. Imperfect procedural justice arises when outcomes are not achieved because of problems in the implementation of procedures in the social institution. This is illustrated by the court system, which has independent standards in terms of laws, but there is no precise and direct method to implement these laws to achieve justice. In the court system the trial procedures, legal representation and jury system may work in conflict to produce unexpected or in some respects unjust outcomes. This is manifest in instances where legal cases have been dismissed because they did not follow due process. This can also result in the innocent being found guilty, and the guilty being freed or receiving very lenient sentences. The distributive process is imperfect, as methods and procedures do not always lead to a just outcome. On the other hand, pure procedural justice does achieve a correct or just outcome using fair methods. However, there are no independent criterion, which can correctly identify the right result and this is a strong negative point against this type of justice. This occurs because the standards from which the methods are developed and outcomes judged are not always universally

agreed or applicable. Lack of consensus in setting standards often leads to the inability to view standards as independent and produces problems in using the same standards across different policy streams. For Rawls (1972), pure procedural justice provides a system that ensures social justice is achieved for the recipients of social goods distributed through institutions.

Miller (1976: 44), a prominent social justice theorist, disagrees with Rawls' position that social justice is purely procedural and sees social justice as imperfect procedural. For Miller (1976) socially just outcomes occur because independent standards and procedures applied by institutions are fair, although there is often no direct method of reaching a fair outcome. These standards and procedures can be judged independently as they are based on criteria of distributive justice founded on principles of need, desert or rights. Thus outcomes can generally be categorised as fair whatever their distribution. In Miller's view, in conceptualising social justice it is more effective to concentrate on the relationship between social justice as defined by Rawls' difference principles (to be discussed later) and common sense criteria of rights, desert and needs.

In researching social justice in Tower Hamlets, I am concerned with both the procedures involved in housing allocation and the fairness of the distributions and outcomes. Housing must be allocated through a system of distributive justice using a process of procedural justice. It is also necessary that independent standards exist, so that there is some way in which the outcomes, in terms of quantity and quality of goods distributed can be evaluated.

These distinctions are important in defining justice (both procedural and distributive) because Rawls' interpretation of social justice is the starting point for understanding the importance of procedures and method in allocating council housing. Miller's (1976) view illustrates the complexity and absence of theoretical consensus in interpreting what constitutes effective social justice. Justice cannot simply be restricted to one definition when applied to housing; there are multiple interpretations. Justice in council housing can be described as distributive as it seeks to ration through

a system of measuring 'housing needs'. An alternative description of justice is based on the methods used to allocate social goods. Methods for allocating council housing are not random but consist of rules applied to each applicant, for example assessment criteria, procedures for prioritising housing need and matching of applicants to properties. Housing is allocated through set procedures and is therefore concerned with procedural justice. Social justice for this research can broadly be defined as the distribution of benefits and burdens, through procedural mechanisms, as it results from social institutions (Miller 1976: 22).

2.4 PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

This section outlines moral principles of need, rights, desert and common good that can be used in developing theories and models of justice. As stated earlier different definitions of justice are derived by interpreting the statement, "to each man or woman his due" (Campbell, 1990; Miller, 1976; Ryan, 1993). The complexity of interpretations can be attributed to two issues; the first is the uncertainty and confusion in understanding the relationship between due and reward. There are many ways that reward and due can be linked. These involve the economic, political, social or value systems, and these in turn may be based on any of the principles of need, rights, desert or the common goods. Thus for social justice the concern is with the issue of need and knowing precisely what need is. Connected to this is the basic question of how one interprets due and the moral principles that underpin this. Principles provide a moral base from which notions of justice are often developed and evaluated.

Moral principles are an important contribution to understanding social justice. One of the most influential writers on social justice is John Rawls. In a discussion of social justice, he states that moral sentiments govern our moral powers, or more specifically, our sense of justice (Rawls, 1972: 51). Developing models and views of justice from these principles would involve, in Rawls' terms, a process of personal construction and reflective equilibrium. This involves moving between theory and intuition to develop a coherent acceptance or rejection of information from which to widen your own understanding and conception of justice. In this way theories of justice will

change over time and evolve to be more relevant to affected individuals, groups and institutions.

The role of these ethical principles provides the building blocks to assessing how different theories of justice evolve and develop theoretically. They are very important when examining theories of social justice in the allocation of housing as they are inextricably linked to the way justice is seen to have been met. However, it is necessary to understand the defining characteristics of these ethical principles before exploring some of the different views and perspectives of social justice. The following sections therefore clarify the concepts of 'needs', 'rights', 'deserts' and the 'common good'.

2.4.1 Needs

A traditional description of a single need places a person in a situation where they are lacking an important requirement[1]. This is illustrated by Benn and Peters (1972: 143) definition that need is the lack of something injurious or detrimental not to supply or which frustrates a perceived result. A current general definition of *need* is that it is a basic requirement to sustain life (Jary and Jary, 1999: 437). This distinguishes it from *wants;* requests based on a state of mind as opposed to needs, which are either physiological necessities or requirements. Need is also distinct from wants because it is connected to external standards; these external links legitimise need emphasising that they be fulfilled or satisfied. This contrasts with wants that are usually personal expressions of one's own desires and cannot be legitimised by external standards or norms (Smith, 1994: 35).

Need can be explained in terms of a hierarchical system. Maslow developed a lexical order of three types of need ranging from basic 'physiological needs' of food safety and shelter; to 'psychological needs' of belonging, love and approval and lastly 'self-actualisation needs' (Maslow, 1943 in Doyal and Gough, 1991: 35). Maslow argued

[1] A distinction can be made between need singular which, implies to the lack of a single item and needs which relates to several requirements. Here I am mainly concerned with needs (Doyal and Gough, 1991).

that once basic physiological needs like food and shelter were satisfied then other needs would dominate. In his view, physiological needs are necessary for human life and because of this they are termed basic human needs. The needs essential for human existence are the primary concern of social justice as viewed by writers Doyal and Gough (1991). They extended concepts of human needs to include health, housing and human rights, as their notion of basic human needs (*op cit.* 39). It is important to understand that needs in this sense relates to individual needs, as opposed to the needs of a community, which poses different interpretations of the use of need as a criteria for justice.

Another way of defining need is to link it to an understanding of harm and deprivation. Miller (1976: 131-5) supports this view that the absence and prevention of needs, results in physical and emotional harm. The type of harm suffered by the absence of different requirements (needs) can vary and gives rise to different views of need. The role of justice is to prevent harm by obtaining the important elements (needs) to ensure health, shelter and well being. Harm in this sense can also be expressed as deprivation. The unfilled acknowledgement or receipt of certain goods, possessions or opportunities may result in deprivation. Thus in this sense, deprivation is an expression of various types of need (Anderson and Sim, 2000: 17-20).

Need can be considered in two ways, either as an absolute or as a relative concept. Jacobs (1993: 54-58) describes these as the Aristotelian and the Liberal view of need. The Aristotelian view is limited and takes a restricted position from the absolute concept compared to Liberal view, which draws on relative position. In the Aristotle view, needs are social and personal conditions, required for a person to become a certain type of individual. Needs are determined by others, often these fulfil a limited view of perceived need, determined by the recipient. An Aristotelian view of housing need for a homeless family would primarily be shelter, whereas the Liberal view of need means recognising that there are underlying causes. These are the particular circumstances or wider societal factors of satisfying needs, so that other benefits related to housing might also be viewed as important needs. The task in theorising an

applicable principal of need from these views, is to decide how the different levels of need can be used to assess the characteristics of social justice for public distributions.

Need, when used in the context of housing, has both a normative and subjective criterion. It firstly, reflects the relationship between management housing stock, and applicants or tenants that require it. Secondly, housing suitable for one family may not be suitable for another, as their 'needs' are different. These criteria set out the variable nature of need. There are also set standards that are developed as official guides, from which people are assessed as to their level of need. These two types of needs can be used to ensure a balance in producing effective social justice in the social rented sector (Burke, 1981: 5-8).

Distributions according to need have two characteristics. First they are determinate: when a person's needs are stated it is possible to describe explicitly or implicitly what must be done to satisfy the need. Needs are easily recognised as a principle of distribution. Second they are empirical in nature, often enshrined in legislation, procedures or moral codes (Benn and Peters, 1974: 142). Using normatively defined need often provides a transparency to the process of distribution. Thus the processes and outcomes of justice can be tested or easily identified. Need criteria are often readily available for scrutiny; evaluation and assessment of need satisfaction. For example in housing there are external standards in legislation to ensure councils give priority to those in most need of housing. These traditional values about need are used in defining need as the preferred principle of distribution in health, social and the welfare policy generally and council housing allocation policy in particular. Need as a principle for distribution in public policy has continued to have a strong influence, requiring open or accessible information about need criteria and with a tendency for the empirical nature of need to be important to government in assessment of distributions.

2.4.2 Rights

Moral rights depend on a basic mutual recognition that each person has a due, which is acknowledged as worthy of respect. These dues are transformed into *de jure* rights[2] that are often assigned and granted legitimacy through well-known institutions for example the family, state or industry. Jacobs (1993: 162-3) states that there are two essential questions about using rights as a principle of justice. What do rights look like and how do you identify them? Rawls (1972: 135) provides some answers to this question when he suggests that rights can be conceptualised as a set of principles general in form and universal in application. He argued that the rights secured by justice are not subject to political bargaining or to the influence of social interests (Rawls, 1972: 184). Rights therefore, can affect the way justice is dispensed. Thus rights are very important for those exercising them and are well worth defending, however they can interfere with or affect the process of justice. For housing this is evident in the way different applicant and stakeholder groups interpret rights to reflect their own group interests.

Rawls (1972: 50) sees rights as a constraining element in the process of justice as fairness. Housing would exist as a basic right to any one who requires it. Often in practice accepting the rights of groups may require compromises between group interests and principles of need so that justice can be achieved (Campbell, 1990: 38-41; King, 2000). For council housing the recognition of principle of right as the major principle in distribution would justify the receipt of housing by all groups regardless of need. Smith (1994) stresses the contextual nature of rights and its frequent association with conflicts and different interests.

Most theories of justice that include a strong element of rights based analysis are closely related to a theory of need (Jacobs, 1993: 155, 183-188). Rights as the main determining principle for housing contain some difficulties, the main one being how do you determine whose rights have priority? This necessitates developing a hierarchy of rights in order to dispense justice effectively. This is a contentious issue, as problems arise through establishing various claims of rights by groups in different

situations (Rohan, 2001). This is a much harder task then determining who is most in need. Thus, rights are often aligned with other principles such as need, to reduce some of these problems. This illustrates the problems that the principle 'rights' presents for social distributions.

2.4.3 Desert

Miller (1976: 92) defines desert as being based on the relationship between an individual's entitlements and his conduct. This evidence based principle places importance on previous actions. The characteristics of desert depend on a performance or service to society that has gone before. Therefore to make a judgement based on desert involves an assessment of an individual and the way they have worked described as a system of merit (Campbell, 1990: 152). For housing this would include previous housing history, prior events leading to their current housing situation. Because desert has a historical element, actions prior to the receipt of benefits or burdens are relevant in deciding whether a person will receive goods. These considerations can however be detrimental to egalitarian principles of need (Campbell, 1990: 161-168).

This would affect the fair distribution of housing to those most disadvantaged. For the homeless the principle of desert would be detrimental to their condition. Because emphasis is placed on merit, needs of those who become homeless through their own actions are rated lower, as they might have acted to prevented homelessness. In contrast, a person who had a health problem may be seen as more deserving of housing if it is considered they could not have influenced their situation in the past.

Desert in council housing can be translated into procedures by assessing how different applicant groups would be treated when they apply for housing. In this situation their behaviour and position before registering for housing would determine allocation. The receipt of housing would primarily be based on those most deserving. For example, this may involve factors that relate to familial and residential connection or household and ethnic status. In practice allocation would be assessed by family ties,

---

[2] Rights that are legally recognised as opposed to rights that are not supported by legal statues.

length of residence, type of family unit and whether one was born or migrated to an area. Housing need would be subordinate to these subjective factors connected to previous behaviour.

2.4.4 Common Good

Within the context of social justice, common good refers to distributions of benefit to the community. Rawls (1972: 233) states that the aim of governments is to maintain the common good to ensure that conditions are to everyone's advantage. To subscribe to justice and thus to believe that all persons have moral rights, there must be some recognition that one's own good is connected to the benefit to others in society (Diggs, 1984: part III). Common good in council housing can be considered from two perspectives, recognising the contribution to the common good in housing distributions, and maintaining the common good through the existence of council housing.

The common good principle recognises that the actions of some groups contribute to the well being of all. Many public sector workers, police, fire, medical and social professions are in this category, their work contributes to the well being of the community and thereby the common good. Where there are shortages in recruiting personnel to these jobs and this is combined with housing difficulties, such as high rents and buying costs. Some local authorities have developed schemes that prioritise housing for these groups to attract recruits or maintain levels of employment in their area. These actions reflect an authority's contribution to the common good by setting aside some housing for these groups. Allocating housing based on contributions to the common good can only exist as a small component of allocation schemes. Although these groups require housing, they are less likely to be in the greatest need of housing such as the homeless. Therefore, the majority of housing will still be distributed according to the demands of those most disadvantaged.

The existence of public services particularly state funded health and welfare services, demonstrate the government's commitment to supply certain social goods, such as adequate housing. Within this remit, council housing also maintains an important

public health function, providing homes that prevent poor health. Historically this public health function was illustrated in their role of slum clearance, today this involves ensuring that rented housing is of good quality and is not overcrowded (Smith, 1990). Maintaining the common good also represents the way that many local authorities as landlords have to balance different responsibilities for example, repairs and management of lettings and empty properties. This typifies the way that local authorities may have to view allocation as a single component of council housing management (Franklin, 2000: 925).

2.4.5 Conclusion

I have developed the moral arguments introduced as different principles and applied them to council housing. Table 2.2 shows how each moral principle can be used to influence the objective of distributive justice in housing. The following discussion explains the table and how these principles may work in practice.

Table 2.2 Base Principles of Justice Applied to Council Housing

BASE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE	BASE PRINCIPLE OF JUSTICE APPLIED TO COUNCIL HOUSING
As desert	Housing given to the most deserving based on their past actions or present contribution to the community.
As common good	Housing distributed in ways that benefit all.
As need	Housing following egalitarian principles based on normatively defined need.
As rights	Housing as a given right for all.

Different moral principles are given precedent by stakeholder groups in the housing process. In satisfying the different housing situations of applicants, the principle of needs provides the most cogent argument to determine the allocation of housing. Applicant groups requiring housing place different demands on social landlords to provide housing for them to meet their individual needs. For the purpose of council housing, the principles that underpin ideas of justice will be those related to need. Applicant groups requiring housing place different demands on social landlords to

provide housing for them. Thus housing is allocated according to an assessment of the applicant's need for housing.

This thesis will focus on need assessment as the main criterion underlying principles of distribution. This removes some of the confusion over a hierarchy and priority of distribution. However, in the belief system of some stakeholders concerns of rights may be seen as playing an important part in their assessment of justice in housing. Desert and the common good also influence different views of stakeholders about principles of justice. This research demonstrates that various principles of justice can determine the ethical framework in which justice is perceived. These principles are therefore more than hypothetical norms; they provide distinct foundations from which debate about justice are developed.

2.5 RELEVANT VIEWS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

This thesis is an evaluation of allocation policy and therefore it is necessary to explore whether normative social justice theory can be applied to policy and practice in housing. The previous sections established that distributive and procedural justice are crucial in housing allocation, and that need is the paramount principle to determine distributions and procedures. This section considers how normative principles of justice can be used to determine fair procedures and distributions. The section reviews some key theories of social justice expounded by different theorists. The discussion will examine how each theory can be applied to distributive and procedural justice in council housing allocation policy.

This section begins with an outline of relevant views of social justice from traditional to postmodernist views in Tables 2.3 and 2.4. The theories presented are important to the understanding of social justice in this research. These views form the main ideas that underpin my understanding of social justice for groups rather than for individuals. Table 2.3 relates to distributive justice focusing on the scope and principle of distribution. Whilst Table 2.4 shows how these theories relate to procedural aspects of justice emphasising the different concerns and maximin objective of justice.

Table 2.3 A Review of the Basis and Principles of Distribution in Perspectives of Social Justice

THEORY	THEORIST	SCOPE OF JUSTICE	BASIS OF DISTRIBUTION
(1) Common view	A N other	Backward looking	Personal individual principles
(2) Historical view	Hume, D	Based on material goods	Distributions of benefits/burdens relating to property
(3) Utilitarian	Mill, J S	Forward looking	Justice as right, aggregate, best for all
(4) Contractual	Rawls, J	Both Forward and Backward	Justice as fairness based on a contract
(5) Spatial Justice	Harvey, D	Over space	Geographical distribution of resources for efficiency within spatial structures
(6) Territorial Justice	Pinch, S Davies, B	Over specific territories	Distribution of services/goods by locality to equalise territorial need
(7) Spheres of Justice	Walzer, M	Interpreted through difference	Justice is pluralistic, equality is complex has various interpretations
(8) Pluralist	Young, I M	Amongst various groups	To favour the least able community group
(9) Welfare	Smith, D M	Public policy	Equality for all
(10) Institutional	Elster, J	Dispensed through institutions	Justice through institutional distributive mechanism and procedures
(11) Moral	Smith, D M	Ethical behaviour	Collective and individual morality

Table 2.4 Aims and Principles of Procedural Justice in Perspectives of Social Justice

THEORY	THEORIST	MAXIMUM AIM OF JUSTICE	CONCERNS OF JUSTICE	M
(1) Common view	A N other	Maximum benefit for individual	With individuals	Be
(2) Historical view	Hume, D	To preserve the social order	Property, scarce resources	Ri
(3) Utilitarian	Mill, J S	Maximum benefit for society	Utility and greater good of all	Ri
(4) Contractual	Rawls, J	Maximum benefit for the most deprived person or group	Personal and political liberty, economic and social advantage, self respect	Ma Mi
(5) Spatial Justice	Harvey, D	Maximum benefit for the efficiency of the spatial structure	Resources allocation to large spatial units, cities, countries, regions	All ca
(6) Territorial Justice	Pinch, S Davies, B	Maximum benefit for the most deprived areas or populations	Smaller spatial structures e.g. localities, communities	Ne
(7) Spheres of Justice	Walzer, M	Maximum has different meanings across spheres,	With political systems, social goods people in spheres	All ne
(8) Pluralist	Young, I M	Maximum is different for each group/community	To undermine oppression against groups	Ac dif
(9) Welfare	Smith, D M	Maximum distribution	For particular policies	To
(10) Institutional	Elster, J	Maximum benefit for the recipient or claimant	With dynamics of allocating institution: groups, procedure	Re in
(11) Moral	Smith, D M	To achieve the 'good life' for all	With ethical dilemmas	Mo

Both tables begin with the common view (row 1) universal views of justice are conceptualised in rows 2 to 4. The next rows (5 and 6) are concerned with location aspects of social justice. Theories about the perception of social justice for different groups and communities are addressed in rows 7 and 8. Following these, views of social justice for social policy and institutions are expressed (9 to 10), and finally the importance of the moral view of social justice is set out in row 11. The theories also show a progression from universal macro level theories to pluralist micro theories and are concerned with addressing group rather than individual injustices. The remainder of the section explores these theories in relation to distributive and procedural concepts of justice. Discussions of the theoretical views of justice are applied to the rationing of social goods specifically council housing. Each theory is explained in turn, following the order shown in the tables.

The common view of justice

The common view of justice is described as that used by individuals in every day situations. There is no clear definition of what common sense entails as most philosophers are divided over whether they support the notion or not. A suitable definition suggests that the common sense view appeals to certain innate principles of human nature, which are partly based on a persons reasoning (Honderich, 1995: 142). Common sense is the basis that individuals use in making decisions and acting on their instincts, which they believe to be just. The distributive basis of this type of justice is a person's own moral values. There are no formalised rules; people tend to act according to their individual aim of gaining the most for family, friends or groups who they see as deserving. This type of justice can favour certain groups who may have a distinct advantage in systems rationing of goods and resources. The common view is too prejudicial and selective to be used as a basis for allocating a public good.

In terms of procedural justice, however, the common view can influence people's behaviour. For example, the behaviour of officers in the institutions responsible for implementing procedures for allocation may be influenced by the common view when they are faced with conflicts of interest or difficulties. They will often revert to making decisions based on their own beliefs. This can happen despite allocation staff

following procedures (Young, 1977). People usually trust their own instincts and may subconsciously act on their own moral rationality, preventing the just outcome intended by policy. The application of common sense justice would not be suitable for allocating council housing, as it is not impartial.

Historical View of Social Justice: DAVID HUME

Justice for Hume writing in the 18th century was based around defending the ownership of private property for the good of the society (Solomon and Murphy, 1990; Kelbrook, 1997; Gauthier, 1998)[1]. Justice, he declared, was an artificial virtue, not something natural. Hume argued that man was not naturally just and that justice had to be devised to ensure each individual was treated fairly. Man existed in a society where decisions had to be taken to ensure scarce commodities were rationed; this required some type of structure. He further argues that if everyone lived in a society with abundance, distributive justice would not be necessary. Hume was chiefly concerned with rights to property; his important principle of distribution was justice as rights.

Justice interpreted through rights, Hume saw as the main principle of distribution (Gauthier, 1998: 28). This is relevant to the distribution problems of council housing provision, which is not only concerned with providing housing but also with improving standards. Council housing is based on principles of eradicating poor conditions: overcrowding, lack or sharing of bathrooms and cooking facilities, absence of central heating. The right to a reasonable standard of housing is often opposed to need as a principle of distribution, particularly as in practical terms, need is related to individual or group circumstances. Rights are not relative, but are based on a universal criterion and guaranteed to everyone regardless of their individual circumstances. Therefore, in this interpretation of justice, necessity could be expressed in terms of right to certain standards of housing for all.

Hume postulated that scarcity was the main concern of procedural justice. The reason

was that it increased inequality; having no property or little property put one at a disadvantage. This is an important point for the thesis as social housing is not an abundant resource; in fact the opposite is the case. Scarcity requires that housing is rationed to those in need - as demand is higher than supply. Therefore in Hume's view, scarcity requires a systematic way of dealing with rationing to ensure fairness in the method of distributing property. The idea of rationing can be difficult to reconcile with applicants' feeling they have a right to council housing. However, Hume theorised that the lack of a fair rationing system had the potential to contribute to instability in society. Thus, justice from Hume's perspective maintained the cohesion of groups in society.

Utilitarian Theory of Social Justice: JOHN S MILL

Distributive justice in utilitarian theory is concerned with the overall aim of maximising 'utility', the greatest happiness or good to the greatest number. Mill's view of justice is based on the rights of individuals to attain utility (Brown, 1990: 45-60). As an early exponent of utilitarianism, John Mill linked the pursuit of a person's claim to happiness as the achievement of a net good for all. In a distributive system the utility of the population would be maximised, therefore scarce resources such as council housing are allocated so that this is achieved (Ryan 1993; Solomon and Murphy, 1990). In council housing system this assumes, for example, that housing allocated to a homeless person will produce more utility than housing allocated to a person who already rents a council property.

Conflicts will arise when attempting to reach a consensus on prioritising the needs of vulnerable groups against the good of all groups. An applicant would therefore have a right to housing in the utilitarian sense but problems would occur in deciding whether respecting this right will contribute to the greatest good for most people. In terms of procedural justice, the utilitarian view is that procedures should concentrate on providing a system of allocating housing which is most beneficial to the majority so that utility is maximised. The consequence of this system means that it would not

---

[1] Hume wrote several essays and treatise on morality and justice. The views used here are those based on his theory of moral property and justice in *Essays, Moral and Political* and his ideas of ethics in

always be possible to house those in greatest need first. This can cause problems for those in greatest needs that are overlooked for the greater good of all. The utilitarian view might argue that the optimum position for housing is not to provide housing for the neediest, for example the homeless, but to provide affordable and safe housing for the majority of the population in the council housing sector. Such polices might provide benefits for the society as a whole, but the effect is to deprive individuals of benefits or vastly reduce their share of the total good.

The Contractual Theory of Social Justice: JOHN RAWLS

John Rawls, theory, written in his seminal book, *A Theory of Justice* (Rawls, 1972), was a macro theory that attempted to describe a model that could be used to build a fair and just society. Rawls postulates two preconditions to a just distribution. First, the 'original position' an unbiased starting position that requires a 'veil of ignorance' about one's position in society including socio-economic status. This ignorance is necessary to ensure each person chooses options which if they were in the worst position in society, they would find acceptable. Second, Rawls' theory argues that each individual has a right, founded on justice, to choose the distribution of social goods. He also suggests that choices are made freely so that in this way people are party to a 'contract' with society. Thus, participation in justice is something in which they freely enter into, are committed and believe in (Rawls, 1972: 49-54). The principles are as follows:

(1) Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty, compatible with a similar liberty for others (*the principle of equal liberty).*

(2) Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both:

(a) To the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, (*the difference principle*); and

(b) Attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity (*the principle of fair equality of opportunity)*
(Rawls, 1972: 60).

Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding.

These principles are to be applied in lexical order to produce a just distribution; first 'the principle of equal liberty' is to be satisfied *before* the second principle. Personal liberty is paramount in that it cannot be sacrificed to gain economic or social advantages in the second principle. Within the second principle, part 2b, 'the principle of fair equality', is to take precedence over 'the difference principle' 2a. Rawl's conception of distributive justice was that primary goods (which he stated were rights and liberties, powers and opportunities, and income and wealth) should be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all of the goods was to the advantage of the least well off.

Rawls' theory is a starting point from which to explore the basis of a universal conception of social justice in housing. It provides an egalitarian framework for considering the distributive problems of justice in housing but it does have problems of applicability. Rawls recognises there are unjust distributions. However, he sees injustices as inequalities that are not to the benefit of everyone (Rawls, 1972: 62). For Rawls there are some circumstances in which inequalities can be tolerated, when they are to the advantage of the most deprived. Therefore, Rawls' theory would tend to justify prioritisation for populations who are most disadvantaged in terms of housing. People, who are homeless for example, could be allocated council housing quickly, while others with lesser housing disadvantage could be expected to wait longer. This places Rawls theory as providing the basic justice principles for distributive and procedural justice.

Spatial Justice: DAVID HARVEY

David Harvey (1973) in his book *Social Justice and the City* described a theory of social justice within a geographical context. Harvey's model of territorial justice is based on three important principles, those of need, common good and merit. Justice in this respect is concerned with the comparative analysis of resources supplied to areas, for example: new jobs, financing and capital. These resources are equipped for efficient working of the territory, to benefit all the population. Efficiency is seen as the basis for the evaluation of distributive justice, for spatial structures. This is

defined, in terms of per capita measures of the population or based on the size of the spatial structure (Harvey, 1973: 96-116).

Procedural justice in Harvey's model relates to the allocations of resources in proportion to the spatial structure. The characteristics that determine the allocations are the size of the territory by area and population; the infrastructure within the territory; resources required for housing, transport; and services: health, education to provide the best for the population.

Harvey's strategy for distributions is to set up spatial organisations in a way that minimises the disadvantages of the least unfortunate region. This reflects Rawls' (1972: 60) ideas of the difference principle in distribution. However, under conditions of territorial social justice unequal allocation of resources to localities were permissible, if territories were able through their physical or social circumstances, to contribute to the common good (Harvey, 1973: 116). Harvey sees the results of spatial justice as being linked to workings of the capitalist system. His explanation of whether distributions are just or unjust is related to the economy and particularly the role of markets (Harvey, 1973: 114).

Harvey's model only explains part of the picture of what is affecting the distributions of housing through local authorities. Council housing distribution through allocation procedures is not solely based on the interpretation of the economic system and the supply and demand of housing markets. Housing is also strongly linked with other internal factors that are not connected with the economic situation in localities, such as the process of policy implementation and the influence of allocation staff, on outcomes.

Harvey's model cannot explain local organisational and individual dimensions of justice. It is in fact a normative model; that sets out an ideal system from which territorial justice can operate. The problems of applying this pure model can be illustrated in the housing infrastructure of different localities with varying stock size and types of housing in different areas. The value of Harvey's model is its emphasis

on justice between geographically defined communities and the fact that it focuses on the spatial position of the goods being allocated. Housing is a resource that cannot be moved from one place to another, to meet varying population needs.

Territorial Justice: BLEDDWYN DAVIES; STEVEN PINCH

Social justice applies to individuals and groups in society, it can also have a geographical dimension resulting in the concept of territorial justice. The application of justice to geography is a more recent idea in comparison to the debate over justice between persons. Justice for areas is divided into two perspectives. Each treats geographical areas differently in terms of the analysis of distributive justice. In the territorial justice model proposed by Davies (1968), justice is assessed by the amount of service or resources each area receives in relation to the relative size of the needs of the population. There is also the spatial justice model, which relates to the amount of resourcing that each area receives, for the efficient working of the spatial structure as a whole. The main example of this is David Harvey's (1973) model of territorial justice discussed in the previous section.

The starting point for territorial needs based justice is work by Davies (1968). Davies was interested in the geographical distribution of services between local authorities. His early work analysed welfare distributions over territories, arguing for a model of territorial need indicators, which considered the variations in demand between localities. Davies (1977) later developed such a model, applying need indicators to distributions of personal social services by local authorities. The basis of distribution in his model was need, represented by deprivation and levels of welfare shortfalls in the population.

Procedures to ensure territorial justice are focused on the use of territorial need indicators. These are estimates of resources required to fulfil the needs of a population for a particular service. Indicators are developed from a formula based on the numbers of the population requiring the services by the cost to provide the service in a given area. Davies advocated providing more services to more needy localities. Davies defined need as:

> "a quantity of resources which it is judged to be appropriate to allocate to one or more potential recipients with specified characteristics, taking into account the costs and benefits from all other possible uses of resources and any budget constraints that may exist." (Davies, 1977: 45).

Davies' model of needs based distribution for public services provides an important contribution to the understanding of rationing models used by public organisations. Groups in space were not passively waiting for services or goods, but were 'active consumers' of services. Applicants as members of various groups in localities did not just wait for housing to be allocated to them. Limited choices did not prevent them from attempting to access the 'best' housing, and in the least deprived locations.

Pinch (1979; 1984; 1985) and Walker and Lawn (1988) took forward ideas raised by Davies. Pinch contributed to the analysis of the influence of the territorial justice with his theory about the spatial setting. Pinch saw distributive justice for areas influenced primarily by local forces. The state of the market, the mixed economy of housing systems and the growth of decentralised modes of production and service provision were seen as important factors in the development of this perspective. These factors took equal or more precedence in the allocation of a just distribution to needy areas. To include these factors into the discussion, theories focusing on the administrative allocation rather than territorial problems of a locality were developed (Pinch, 1979; Pirie, 1983; Boyne, 1991; 1993). These views of justice acknowledged the importance and the necessity to look in detail at the institutions responsible for allocation and the procedures developed to distribute public goods and services.

For Pinch (1985: 5-16), procedural justice was related to the consumer demands of people in need of housing. The demand rather than the supply side of services/distribution is seen as more important for meeting the applicant's needs. Pinch argues that choice is an important element in the use of public services or goods. In housing this develops the notion of applicants being given the choice between particular localities or estates. Choice is also evident in the ability of applicants to refuse offers of housing if they consider them to be unsuitable. However choice is not extended to decisions about the criteria used in the housing allocation

process or in assessing need. These are based on set procedures that are not negotiable.

Pinch's work (1985) is useful for understanding the policy environment of central government towards council housing in the mid 1980s to mid 1990s under the Conservative government. His influence on this thesis is in his idea of the needs of the population for public housing, articulated through each applicant's choice and preference in the allocation system. In housing this recognises choice about types of properties: houses rather than flats, low rise over high rise flats, central heated over no central heating, buildings with lifts and decision-making through consultation and estate based management. This is particularly relevant in a decentralised system of local government and council housing management.

Spheres of Justice: MICHAEL WALZER

Walzer in *Spheres of Justice* (1983) interprets social justice through difference. Social justice is about the distribution of different goods in different spheres. Goods have varied meanings across several moral and material worlds. Meanings are seen as historical and there significance changes. In Walzer's perspective, the historical and cultural view of goods is carried through to the evaluation of distributions. Therefore, just and unjust distributions change over time and are subject to different interpretations. Walzer describes this as a situation of 'complex equality', where equality is diverse; and has multiple meanings, which are dependent on factors such as culture, history or the political system. This is in contrast to a single definition of equality, where there is one universal perspective of distributive justice. This Walzer calls 'simple equality'. Distributions are seen in the context of the characteristics and uniqueness of each sphere. Walzer's views are useful as his ideas suggest that the quest for one all encompassing macro view of social justice, with a universal principle is unattainable. In fact this would cause more injustice as it encourages and perpetuates 'dominance'.

Dominance is described as the result of applying unified principles and procedures of justice across different spheres; this reinforces the allocation of goods to the same

groups in societies across all spheres. Thus, distributions of specific goods, e.g. welfare, educational opportunity and political power, legitimately go to groups that are powerful over many spheres, creating widespread dominance by the same groups. Making each sphere different, with its own interpretation of inequalities, (and what is considered just and unjust) is the only method to counteract dominance. Consequently, procedural justice should reflect cultural and political systems of each locality, incorporating the concept of complex equality, which reduces the effect of dominance.

Walzer's ideas of spheres are important to the research because it suggests that different notions of social justice may be associated with different spheres of justice in specific localities. Walzer's ideas can be useful in analysing allocation policy in the different localities, management organisations and stakeholders in the borough.

Postmodernist View of Justice: IRIS M YOUNG

Iris Young's contribution to the discourse of social justice (Young, 1990) was different because it departed from the emphasis on distribution and social justice. She argued that distribution as a major concept for social justice was limited and could only be affective for material goods (Young 1990: 9). Social groups rather than individuals (as possessors of goods) were the major focus of justice (Young, 1990:16). Young defined groups as having importance to justice placing a greater emphasis on the role of groups. The basis of any distributive system for Young, should be to benefit the least able group (Young, 1990: 8-9).

Young argues that the substantive nature of social justice involved decision-making procedures, the social division of labour and culture, which required new theoretical explanations (Young, 1990: 18-30). For Young, justice is constructed socially and historically. Groups have differing power relations and these affect their interactions and ability to negotiate within the dominant framework of justice. Describing justice is not a straightforward task, as concepts of justice have close ties with the political system. Politics for Young includes various aspects taking place in institutions, these

maybe public action, social practices, habits and cultural meaning that can be collected or evaluated.

The main principles of distributive justice are those defined in the political arena, connected to institutions. In setting principles for procedural justice, conditions are dependent on the situation; thus, concepts of justice are different for each group (Young, 1990: 39). However, the underlying principles of justice remain the same for all groups. Young's discussion of power and politics acknowledges the various group differences that exist in the process of achieving justice for disadvantaged groups.

Young's work contributes to theories of social justice because she provides a valuable voice for groups rather than individuals in social justice. The main reason is the link to politics and the power that certain groups have within society. She goes further than theorising the cultural aspects of difference associated with Walzer, explaining how politics affects the nature of groups, and the prominence of groups over individuals in interpreting justice concepts. Young's writing provides an understanding of political action linking this to the process of social justice for groups.

Justice in Welfare DAVID M SMITH

David M Smith (1977) explored geographical concerns with social justice and welfare in his seminal book *Human Geography a Welfare Approach.* For Smith the basis for distribution was the inequality amongst groups and locations. Universal principles such as need and equality were the basis of distribution; these could be used in judging evaluations and assessing their achievements. His work on the process of distribution and the importance of inequality in outcomes provides an excellent framework for assessing the nature of distributive justice concerning social goods (Smith, 1977: 131-146).

Aims and principles for procedural justice come in for particular scrutiny by Smith (1977: 162-191). The maximum benefit for procedural social justice is the disadvantaged users, recipients, occupants or locations of social goods. The concerns

of justice were with the efforts of particular policy systems, for example the economic, education, health or social housing, to address inequality. The ideal of justice was the 'maximin' that could be achieved within a distributive system. Those who were most in need should benefit from welfare provision, power, or opportunity at any given scale.

Smith argued that Rawls' criteria, from which principles of allocation could be developed, could produce full equality or constrained equality (1977, 132-151). Full equality would not always be achieved. The principle of allocation he introduced was the useful concept of 'constrained equality' (*op cit.* 141). This principle based on Rawls, states that in some situations, the worst off members would be able to meet a 'threshold' level of need achieving some equality in society. However, the most disadvantaged would not be substantially better off and would still suffer some inequalities.

Smith's work is important in defining the subjective nature of equality. It demonstrates that the point at which justice is achieved is variable, depending on how satisfaction of need is viewed relative to distributions amongst all recipients. Smith's work is important in deciding how to evaluate judgements about distributions. This includes the ability to decide who gets what, where and how, for various policies and geographical locations. Smith views the techniques for evaluating justice to be as important as the theoretical models used to achieve justice.

Institutional Social Justice: JON ELSTER

An institutional model of social justice takes a very different view from universal or geographical themes of justice. The foundations of distribution in Elster's perspective are institutions where the goods, services, benefits or burdens are (Elster, 1992: 135-142). Elster defines justice in these institutions as 'local' because they often develop their own localised conceptions of justice linked to their particular circumstances. In contrast, Elster identified 'global', justice as containing universal concepts about distributions that are linked to society as a whole. He is interested in a model that can be applied to distributing justice using fair methods and procedures through

organisations. Institutions responsible for distributing social goods are the most important places where social justice impacts on people's everyday lives (Elster, 1992: 2-4). Elster argues that normative theories (or global justice theories) which may seem abstract or remote can be better understood through models that directly relate to institutions and the stakeholders that are connected to them (Elster, 1994: 90). Thus, he sees the main principles of distribution as the effective use of an institutions resources in matching goods or services to recipients. Elster's theory aims for the maximum benefit for the recipient, which in housing translates to maximum benefit for disadvantaged applicants (this reflects a global base for justice).

Elster focuses on the detail of procedures used to achieve just outcomes. In council housing two types of procedures play a part in allocation. First, procedures to ensure housing is rationed fairly. This involved methods to assess individual housing need and the development of numerical targets for categorising the different groups of applicants who will receive housing. Second, procedures that concern the operation of waiting lists and 'priority' procedures for weighting different levels of need. In Elster institutional model, these are the practical tools, which provide the basis for effective and fair distribution.

Elster's model is also concerned with the procedural justice implications of allocation staff in rationing goods. He is particularly interested in whether the different stakeholders views are operating coherently to distribute goods and treat recipients fairly. Therefore, the theory places a lot of emphasis on the behaviour of people involved in the allocation process. Elster identifies different stakeholder groups and explains with the help of studies in health, education and employment why unjust outcomes may occur. These were due to problems in actual procedures or the action of groups, based on their rationale of justice.

Moral Geography and Social Justice: DAVID M SMITH

To conclude the theoretical discussion I will consider the contribution of geographers in synthesising the theories of justice from a moral perspective. Geographical engagement with social justice and morality has not been consistent over the past

thirty years and its use by writers has not always explicit. However, Smith (1977; 1987; 1994; 2000; 2001) has expounded the merits of moral and ethical discourse in geography. David Smith's body of work, particularly on social justice (1992; 1994; 1998; 2000c), has developed and explored the philosophical positions relevant to groups and spatial structures.

Smith provokes thoughtful information on the background to making decisions about distributive systems. For him the aim of most ethical decisions and actions about justice relate to producing the 'good life', whatever that may be for a particular group. Social justice in turn is satisfied if this achieved. Justice in distributions depends on conceptions of the good, (Walzer 1994) or conceptualised as the good life by Smith (2000b). However interpretations of the 'good life' are numerous, which is why justice in distribution is so problematic. The concerns of justice, therefore, are with the ethical dilemmas that occur when trying to fulfil the ideal of justice (Smith, 2001).

Smith's recent work on moral geographies sets out the importance of a personal moral framework for justice toward groups within a locality (Smith, 2000c). This is based on moral principles developed into our own ethical system, from which individuals perceive different groups and make judgements about aspects of justice. This morality is based on ethics concerning the way that groups behave and is seen as the foundation of an effective system of rationing allocation. Ethical behaviour then is connected to interactions with 'others' in various spaces (Smith, 2000a). These views are relevant when considering the procedural aspects of justice and what is acceptable in devising individual policy needs and methods for justice to operate to benefit different groups in a location, known as moral communities.

2.5.3 Summary of Relevant Social Justice Theories

This section began with an outline of social justice views from a lay person to postmodernist views in Tables 2.3 and 2.4. The remainder of the section then provided an overview of these theories and their relevance to the research. They demonstrate the development of distributive and procedural justice from universal to

pluralist theory and from societal concepts to specific contexts such as spatial and organisational factors at the local level.

Social justice is often identified as a universal concept. This position reflects commonly held moral principals and contrasts with the fact that justice has different meanings. The aim of some theorists to produce explanations of justice that can suffice as a general universal theory has not fully succeeded (Barry, 1995b). This is because understandings and meanings about justice are diverse between different points in time, races, cultures, institutions and locations (Harris, 2001). As such social justice is pluralist in nature. Therefore the discussion of theory became more focused by exploring some of the theorists of social justice within spatial structures, culture, political systems and moral communities drawn from work in the geographical discipline.

The nature of social justice is that it is not governed or best described by one general theory but by many. The lack of a firm description or definition of social justice has also contributed to the many views and theories conceptualising social justice. Thus, the previous discussion has provided an introduction to several theories useful to the study of social justice, applied to the social domain and to council housing allocation in particular.

The development of a general theory of social justice to areas of public policy and goods is a difficult exercise (Commission on Social Justice, 1994b). One explanation is that the range of competing views and interpretations of what constitute social justice compounds the difficulty of this task. The problem according to Harvey (1993: 60) is that this leaves researcher assessing justice and the task of choosing a single theory of 'best fit'. In this instance it requires several different theories to understand the dynamic and complex nature of justice between groups and localities (Harvey,1996). To assess how these different concepts can be applied to housing, it was necessary to reduce the number of abstract theories. These are summarised in the following section focusing on the most useful aspects of different theories and their relevance to the research questions.

2.2 PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIAL JUSTICE

This section links the previous discussion of views into four general perspectives that classify individual theories of social justice. The section begins by introducing Table 2.5 that shows how different views of justice are developed into perspectives of justice. The last section continues the discussion of theory and links the perspectives to those used in the research. Concepts and ideas that were found in several theories reviewed above were grouped into perspectives as follows:

1) The equality perspective - focuses on the egalitarian principle and what is fair;
2) The distributive/procedural perspective – focuses on outcomes of methods and procedures in social justice;
3) The pluralist perspective - focuses on the fragmentation of justice and how this is viewed by groups in different locations;
4) The moral perspective - focuses on ethical behaviour and judgement in social justice.

Table 2.5 presents the perspectives in chronological sequence of their appearance in the literature. The Table illustrates how different views of justice are developed into themes that consider various aspects of procedural and distributive justice applicable to social goods.

Table 2.5 Development into Perspectives in Justice from Individual Theories

VIEW (1)	THEORIST (2)	PERSPECTIVE (3)	THEME IN JUSTICE THEORY (4)
Contractual	Rawls 1972	Egalitarian	Defining fair principles of justice
Spatial Welfare Territorial	Harvey 1973 Smith 1977 Pinch 1985	Distributive	Methods and procedures for applying justice and outcomes
Cultural Groups Communities Institutional	Walzer 1983 Young 1990 Elster 1992	Pluralist	Many views of justice varying by groups, location and institutions
Ethical Moral	Smith 1994, 2000 Sack 1997	Moral	Views of what is just behaviour.

Columns 1 and 2 show the views of justice and the main theorists they are derived from. Column 3 indicates a perspective of justice and column 4 defines the main themes in applying justice to policy. Column 4 prioritises the justice theme for perspectives and raises important questions that are explained in the following comments. Each perspective contains theories that have different notions about justice. In addition, although they have a different focus (theme) they all question the distributive outcomes of social justice. Theories that belong to the Egalitarian perspective are preoccupied with the universal or widely held principles of justice. They are predominantly concerned with two questions of justice, how does one recognise justice and what is justice about?

The Distributive perspective focuses on the mechanisms or methods used to dispense justice. Most distributive theories are concerned with the applicability of justice and what is a fair or just distribution. The essential question here is how can justice be implemented? Theories in the Distributive perspective are also concerned with the arena in which social justice is dispensed. What is the appropriate justice system for public goods or services in institutions or for administrative areas?

The third, Pluralist perspective emphasises the importance of variation and heterogeneity in theorising social justice. In developing theories, certain factors, such as individual characteristics, group identity and shared meaning are important as they generate variations in interpreting social justice for interest groups communities and neighbourhoods. The main question explored in pluralist theories is, who should define justice? Theories in this perspectives focus on the relevance of justice to groups, institutions and location particularly in a multicultural postmodernist society.

The fourth, Moral perspective returns us to the question of the significance of justice. Why should one be concerned with the plight of 'others' and what does behaviour and action say about the existence of justice? Moral views aim to question individual and group reasoning in terms of the moral codes people use to rationalise justice. In addition, within this perspective, theories tend to assess and identify what is appropriate behaviour or decision making. Principal themes found in these

perspectives are about how groups develop moral behaviour and, following on from that, how they understand behaviour related to justice.

In summary, it is useful to consider the perspective as part of a wider holistic but complex picture of what is representative of justice today. However, the four perspectives differ substantively because of their own distinct focus on social justice. The following discussion expands on their individual contribution to the thesis because this is important to the understanding of justice described here.

Universal Egalitarian Perspective

The Egalitarian perspective focuses on equality as the best method to achieve justice in society. For society as a whole, universal notions of justice must exist as consensus view among the majority. Most theoretical arguments begin with the premise that inequality exists and that equality is the moral ideal, which this should replace (Kekes, 1997). Equality can be described as a relationship between different groups, this is satisfied when both (or all) are equally supplied with resources (McKerlie, 1996)[2]. In acknowledging inequality, theorists set out to articulate models that can change or redistribute economic and social advantages, responsible for inequalities in society. Due to the perverse and widespread nature of inequalities, the formulations of egalitarian theories of social justice tend to be universal in application and global in scale. They therefore require a consensus view to be an affective deterrent to injustice.

Rawls' (1972) universal theory of social justice typifies an egalitarian notion of justice. To achieve equality followings Rawls' difference principle (utilising strict rules), to compensate the disadvantaged. Rawls' believed that these principles would be able to regulate distributions of social and economic advantages (Rawls, 1972: 61). Rawls' idea of justice compensating for society's ills has been rigorously debated and argued over the past 30 years but has not yet been practically applied (Daniels, 1989).

---

[2] Equality itself may exist at different levels. This is confirmed in the different ways that inequality is identified: between individuals using intelligence, handicap or health status; between groups in terms of gender, race or class; and in spatial structures by neighbourhoods, cities or regions (McKerlie, 1993).

Rawls himself has been criticised as to how his theory would actually work in the everyday settings of society's limited resources, uneven development and with arbitrary individual factors such as inherited intelligence and health characteristics (Odera-Oruka, 1980; Kukathas and Pettit, 1990). This illustrates the difficulty of successfully applying universal egalitarian theories which he later acknowledged (Rawls, 1992).

In the absence of a successful application, Rawls' ideal may seem unworkable. Often egalitarian theories seem to exist as rather abstract ideological models of how societies, groups and structures should act. However, egalitarian ideals are nonetheless important founding principles of the welfare state and social housing in particular (Rawls, 2001). The necessity for shelter and the requirement to house the homeless are a reminder that council housing aims to remove the inequality and deprivation caused by differing access to adequate housing.

Distributive Perspective

The Distributive perspective follows on from the universal theories and addresses the problems of applying universal theories to real conditions in society. The shift towards notions of social justice concentrating on the methods of distribution, followed this preoccupation with advancing a workable universal model of social justice. In a just society, it is necessary to test how far the distribution of primary goods matches the tenets of social justice principles. Smith's (1977) exposition of welfare geography typifies the objective of this perspective. His work concentrated on the distributive affects of policy mechanisms in social welfare for groups and spatial structures.

This way of thinking in social justice was still relevant in the early 1990s when Elster (1992) was writing on the problems of dispensing social goods through institutions. The institutional setting produced unique problems for social justice. Factors such as diversity of social goods, political conflicts, complex rationing mechanisms and the behaviour of stakeholders provided evidence of the necessity to develop a theory of justice solely related to social institutions. Elster recognised that dispensing justice

through organisations such as hospitals, schools and local authorities, required specific conceptions of justice. These would place greater emphasis on the institutional framework in rationing social goods.

Pluralist Perspective

Preoccupation with universal theories and the application and implementation of social justice through the distributive paradigm was followed by another paradigm, that of difference with exponents such as Walzer (1983) and Young (1990). These writers turned their attention away from discussions on procedural mechanisms for achieving effective distributive systems, toward a focus on the identity of recipients of justice, their communities or groups, culture, race and behaviour. This involved assessing how different groups defined social justice, and linking this to their perception of how social justice is achieved. Emphasis was placed on differing interpretations of justice, a move away from seeking consensus to understanding separate views of justice.

The Pluralist perspective tends to focus on factors that distinguish groups from each other and assess how these affect their interpretation of justice. Chronologically this perspective became prominent at a time when universal theory was criticised as not accounting for change and fragmentation in society (Harvey, 1989). Harvey later argued that postmodernist conceptions of justice needed to utilise difference as the major component, in ensuring that social justice was relevant for particular locations (Harvey, 1996).

Theories categorised as pluralist concern injustices between groups defined by both visible characteristics, such as race, gender and physical disability or unseen characteristics such as intelligence and some illnesses. Once these distinguishing characteristics are identified, and established as relevant, views and interpretations of justice acceptable to these groups can be pursued. Themes in all of these theories reflect the pluralism in society and its impact on justice. This is important for theorising distributions that involve different stakeholders, as their different rationales

in the allocation of social goods are essential to the understanding of justice for different groups.

Moral Perspective

The diversity of views offered by theorists who endorsed pluralist forms of social distribution was overtaken by arguments that concerned the morality of action and choices in social justice. These moral views of justice mirrored the complexity of late 20th century reality in the spheres of race, gender and nation as well as political and spatial systems, which were fragmenting and changing (Isaac, 1997: Smith 2000a). Postmodernist views gave rise to a surge of feminist, racial and community focused theories of social justice. These views all emphasised particular characteristics of difference as the basis of social justice. The context of justice and the social relationships involved in the execution of justice was given more influence in developing appropriate ethical systems for geographical structures. The work of Sack (1997) plays an important contribution in analysing the spatial connection of morality and geography. Factors such as culture, race, gender and institution become the important determinants of how a society of socially different groups in separate neighbourhoods, perceive social justice (Smith, 2000a).

Concentrating on the moral dimension of social justice brings into the foreground the ethical behaviour of individuals and groups (Shafer-Landau, 1997). This often produces conflicts between universal views of social justice and pluralist views (Smith, 2000b). The role of justice is to consider others including their particular history, culture, etc, in expressing their moral codes. For example, the distribution of primary goods among different races can be interpreted in terms of the right of a smaller groups to self-determination, or to be treated equally to larger groups (Shivi, 1991). Justice goes beyond thinking of one's own situation and group to that of less fortunate others.

Ethical concerns of different groups in the housing process are illustrated in the moral behaviour of stakeholders in housing. In housing policy, the just allocation of housing is an important moral issue in assessing this behaviour. Each group identifies with a

particular view of what constitutes justice that works within a system of their own rules called their moral imaginations (Smith, 1998). Moral concerns take precedence over the substantive issues of equality of outcome, procedural fairness or the distributive affects for the recipients of justice.

2.7 CONCLUSION: APPLYING VALID THEORY TO THE RESEARCH

In conclusion, the complex nature of social justice can be understood by considering how each of the four perspectives contributes to the research investigation. This is set out in Table 2.6, as four dimensions to interpreting the nature of social justice; each row sets out a perspective, which provides a particular understanding.

Table 2.6 Perspectives of Justice and Their Contribution to the Research

PERSPECTIVES	ARENA	SCOPE OF PERSPECTIVE	THE NATURE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE
Moral (1)	Individuals groups/society	Moral base of what is justice	Understanding behaviour and beliefs about social justice
Egalitarian (2)	Universal	Defining broad principles of social justice in rationing	Provides the principles of social justice to assess allocation
Pluralist (3)	Institutions groups and localities	Perception of justice in different spaces, cultures	Interpretation of social justice by institutions, groups and localities
Distributive (4)	Housing Allocation systems	Methods and procedures for applying justice	Evaluating outcomes in terms of justice principles

The table begins with the Moral perspective, which establishes the moral nature of justice. It focuses on the moral principles of justice and poses the question, of why one collectively or individually acts justly or unjustly. This perspective acts as an integral part of all views of justice providing the basis as to why justice is important and how individuals and group in society perceive it.

The Egalitarian perspective provides the second dimension. This is closely aligned with broad universal notions of how justice can be defined and evaluated throughout the society. These notions are clearly based on a consensus view of principles, recognisable by their attachments to the universal sentiments of equality, non-discrimination and equal opportunity in allocating public goods and services.

Perspective three, the Pluralist perspective, identifies whom justice is concerned with and what differences are important in defining justice for various groups. Finally, the Distributive perspective 4, focuses on the effects of applying distribution procedures on the allocation of goods like social housing to various groups and areas. These four perspectives provide the dimensions that set out clearly the relevance of various social justice theories to the thesis.

In concluding this chapter, Table 2.6 sets out the synthesis of theoretical ideas developed for the various components of the thesis. Chapter 5 reflects the universal nature of the legal Non Discrimination Notice and the consensus view of the Commission for Racial Equality on housing in the borough. The Pluralist perspective is explored through various case studies in Chapter 6, which investigates the differing interpretations of justice in Tower Hamlets localities. The practical applications of distributive justice perspectives on the process of housing allocation are determined by two analyses of housing outcomes in Chapters 7 and 8. The following chapter provides further background for the policy context of housing and justice. It examines the role of council housing as a redistributive mechanism, identifies the groups and factors involved in the rationing process. It also intends to explain some of the details of the relationship between social justice and the council housing allocation system.

CHAPTER 3

JUSTICE AND COUNCIL HOUSING

"I believe in anything that is necessary to correct unjust conditions. I believe in it as long as it is intelligently directed and designed to get results". Malcolm X (Amoah, 1989: 40)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The last Chapter discussed principles and general theories about social justice. This Chapter outlines the general distributive and procedural aspects of social justice that relate to council housing. The Chapter aims to link the general perspectives about social justice and the operation of council housing to an explanation of how social justice can be operationalised in housing allocation. The Chapter begins with a section on the aims of council housing to meet basic need and considers social housing as a type of primary social good. This is reinforced in the next section on the growth of council housing with a short history of its changing purpose until the 1990s. The next three sections provide background for this research, they outline how allocation works in the local authority, and they raise questions for the case studies.

3.2 DEFINING HOUSING AS A FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN NEED

Housing can be defined as a fundamental human need important for well-being at a practical and participatory level. The starting point for this view is Doyal and Gough's (1991) practical definition of basic human need. They defined some needs as fundamental to human existence because they were necessary to prevent serious harm. In this way housing (or shelter) prevents serious harm and provides protection against natural elements and health deterioration, as well as safety and security incursions. Rawls (1972: 91) also identified certain goods as basic human needs, these he called primary social goods. These are fundamental needs, which once satisfied provide a person with one of the perquisites to fulfil their desires and participate in society. Inclusion and participation in society is strongly linked to living in a home, whereas homelessness is increasingly linked to exclusionary processes (Somerville, 1998; Clapham and Evans, 2000: 81). I argue that this suggests primary goods such as rights and liberties can be extended to describe

adequate housing, as Rawls (1972: 96) views these as fundamental for everyday living, and this is the case with housing. Housing for all groups in society is a fundamental requirement; a caring and just society should aim to house all citizens adequately. In this, respect governments of industrialised countries consider suitable housing a universal objective (Doling, 1997: 7). Provision of housing is an expensive undertaking and to ensure that this is not just a moral right but becomes a reality it is interpreted and validated in universal codes and laws.

The importance of decent housing is an international concept transcending local communities or national states. At an international level the United Nations (UN) has campaigned for housing to be a global requirement for citizens everywhere. This places the human right to adequate housing as a long-standing universal issue prioritised by the UN over several years[6]. Thus, the right to adequate housing is enshrined in many international human rights instruments (UN-OHCHR, 2001). In the late 1990s the right to adequate housing was reaffirmed in resolution 16/7 *Commission on Human Settlements* (UN-HABITAT, 1996). This new *Habitat Agenda* confirmed the importance of housing as a fundamental human need and provided a framework that reflected the importance of human rights in general, and housing rights in particular (UN-OHCHR, 2001[7]). The wider implications of housing and its effects in urban and rural environments in different nations are reflected in current UN policy. Thus, UN resolutions in 2001 have looked at housing in the wider context of habitat (involving housing, location, economic restructuring and culture) with comprehensive objectives about housing and the immediate environment. These have been accepted by various UN agencies bringing together different initiatives on housing [8] (UN-HRP, 2002).

---

[6] Article 25 par.1 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* reads: "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family. Including food, clothing. housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control." (UN-OHCHR, 2001).

[7] Based on the UN *Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) in 1996* that produced the *Istanbul Declaration* and *Habitat Agenda.*

[8] This involves several different UN agencies; the main agency is the Commission on Human Settlements, working on different aspects of the universal right of housing.

At a European level in developing the European Social Charter (EU, 1961) the Council of Europe has recognised that housing is a fundamental human need). This was later reaffirmed in 1996 with a specific reference to housing in article 31.

> "With a view to ensuring the proper exercise of the right to housing, the parties undertake to take measures intended: to encourage access to housing of an adequate standard, to prevent and reduce the states of homelessness with a view to its gradual elimination, and to make the cost of housing accessible to people who do not have sufficient resources" (Council of Europe, 1996: Article. 31).

Within the European Union (EU), housing policy generally falls within the jurisdiction of the national policy of each Member State (EU, 1999: Recommendation 4). The wider needs of housing, habitat, exclusion and poverty were included in later European Parliament resolutions (EU, 1987; 1996, 2000). Sören Häggroth[9], president of the Union in 2001, stated that the issue of adequate shelter for all was a high priority for the Union (UN-HABITAT, 2001). This was in support of global efforts on housing right through the UN Habitat program. The president acknowledged that difficulties had been encountered in meeting housing objective, due to the complicated nature of housing policy and its strategic links with economic and social factors. Housing policy was the responsibility of each state and was a complex policy field. This meant that adequate housing for all citizens was often hard to achieve[10]. As a fundamental human need and a moral right it appears that states in the European union were actively seeking to meet these criterion despite the problems involved (EU, 2000; FEANTSA, 2002).

For this research, housing is considered a 'good'. Elster describes three characteristics that are important for understanding the distribution of goods (Elster, 1992: 186-187). Goods are either in the private or public domains; they can be final or intermediate (providing access to other goods) in their nature. Goods can be allocated independently or are dependent upon provision of other goods. Using these characteristics council housing is defined a *social* good, distributed through public

---

[9] Secretary of State, Ministry of Finance of Sweden, held the Presidency of the Union in 2001.

[10] Ministers of Housing of the Member States meet on an annual basis to exchange information and experiences on issues of common concern. In the last 10 years most of the meetings concentrated on the social aspects of housing policies. Access to housing for the most excluded people, immigrants and older people have been themes of the Informal Meeting in the past (FEANTSA, 2002).

institutions in a final form as property[11]. In addition, council housing is allocated directly; it is not linked to another good for the purpose of allocation. Different types of goods have properties that determine how justice can be operationalised. Different types of goods have properties that determine how justice can be operationalised (Wlazer, 1982).

Today, in the twenty-first century, in the United Kingdom (UK), it is considered a necessity to have decent housing. Decent housing usually mean, sound construction, electric lighting, central heating, good sanitation system, clean air and little or no overcrowding based on the 'Fitness Standard' [12] (ODPM, 2002d; DETR, 1998b). Supporting this notion of fundamental human need interpreted through adequate housing, the UK Government has taken the responsibility to provide housing for 'vulnerable group's thorough 'social housing'. Council housing is an established term that defines public housing provision as owned and managed by local authorities (Short, 1982: 54). Historically a system of government subsidy and rent regulation has existed throughout the 20th century, confirming a social and welfare commitment to housing for citizens (Burke, 1981). In contributing to some of their funding, the government ensures that people who cannot buy their own home or afford private rents can benefit from a public rented sector. The term 'social housing' recognises the importance of a social framework in determining the occupants of public housing by local authorities and other social landlords. In contrast, market forces and the ability to pay primarily drive the private sector. In the social rented sector, occupants are selected by their social circumstances, confirming the fact that recipients are predominantly linked to social disadvantage (Jary and Jary, 1999; Reeves, 1996).

Research by Burke (1981) linking social justice with the social housing sector, has found that the distributive mechanism of housing were cogent issues forging an important connection with justice. This connection was also examined in *The*

---

[11] Although schemes providing intermediate goods related to housing do exist in the public sector, they are targeted at particular applicants who have the skills or who are willing to learn how to build their own homes. Usually known as 'design and build schemes', land is provided at a discounted rate, by the local authority in partnerships with other social landlords to build homes. These schemes are very limited in number.

[12] The 'Fitness Standard' is statutory criteria laid down in *1989 Local Government and Housing Act* (section 604), judged to be the minimum standard for housing.

Commission on Social Justice (1994a) investigation into social justice and housing in England in the early 1990s. Convincing evidence was found that improved housing greatly enhanced the quality of life for certain groups. In this respect, the role of local councils to empower less advantaged groups toward better housing was identified as playing a unique role, particularly in ensuring that fundamental need was achieved for those most likely to be deprived of adequate housing. The report's authors argued that housing had an important role in creating a just society. Consensus emerging from the Commission supported state intervention to ensure basic shelter for all groups, particularly disadvantaged groups (Commission on Social Justice, 1994b). Thus, the position of council housing in the overall policy framework of the society was an important one. Most local authorities take their duty to provide safe adequate housing seriously. For all tenants in the sector they supply housing built to national standards with adequate amenities and facilities.[13] A major responsibility is specialist housing that includes adapted properties for the disabled and sheltered housing for the elderly. In providing some solutions to housing need, local councils as providers of social housing helped in maintaining shelter, as a fundamental human need (Harriot and Matthews, 1998: 21-49).

In concluding this introduction, social justice has been defined as a fundamental human need because shelter is a necessity for daily living. The link with justice begins at this very basic level confirming that moral sentiments attached to a right to housing are justified. Universal laws and codes that seek the undeniable right of housing for all demonstrate the importance of justice in housing, providing the justification for the study of social justice and council housing. For Britain, the link with social justice connects council housing with disadvantage and the view that housing should be available to disadvantaged and vulnerable groups. Facts about the aims of housing open the debate about the inception and purpose of council housing discussed in the following section.

---

[13] The English House Conditions survey considers the range of basic amenities for dwellings. There is still some debate about the number of properties that do not have basic amenities, however most of these are not in the social sector but are privately owned.

3.3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF COUNCIL HOUSING

This section outlines a brief history of council housing, explaining how social justice in housing has been conceptualised through developments in the 20th century. The growth of cities in the nineteenth-century as population migrated from the rural areas to the industrialised towns, increased the demand on housing for the swelling numbers of workers in the new industries. Housing or the absence of suitable affordable housing for the population has therefore been a political issue for government legislation since the late 19th century, beginning with the *1868 Torrens Act* and *1875 Cross Act* to clear slums and build new housing (Short, 1982: 10).

Of all the expanding cities London experienced the greatest actual rise in population in the nineteenth century (LHU, 2002). At that time general concern about the state of housing issues was linked to public health. This involved the appalling structural and insanitary conditions of housing occupied by the working classes. This reflected the low wages of the tenants and high rents demanded by the landlords (Short, 1982: 25). There were some alternative housing supplied by philanthropists who set up charitable trusts. For example, the Peabody Trust in London was set up in 1862 with £500,000 left by the American banker George Peabody, founder of Morgan Grenfell Bank. The money was to help ease the condition of London's poor, which was invested in housing. The most pressing need at that time was high quality, well-ventilated and sanitised homes to replace the slum dwellings. (Peabody Trust, 2002).[14] A Royal Commission was set up in 1884 to investigate how to improve sanitation, renovate dwellings and clear some of the housing classified as slums. Later, the state saw the necessity to intervene in the provision of housing for the working classes on the grounds of public health. This was followed with the *1885* and *1900 Housing of the Working Classes Acts* which gave councils the power to build new homes (LHU, 2002; Balchin and Rhoden, 1998). However, funding to build housing did not come direct from central government but was raised through local taxation, which kept

[14] The Peabody Trust has evolved into a general charity for the relief of poverty in London. A Registered Social Landlord providing homes across 26 London boroughs. As the largest charitable housing trust in the capital it had 17,000 dwellings available for rent in 2002. It's philanthropic roots are still evident in wide ranging work undertaken in communities, apart from renting housing to people in need. Playing an important role in assisting regeneration of urban areas, in community schemes, training and skill opportunities (Peabody Trust, 2002).

down the amount of housing built. Thus, numbers of new homes built by local councils were small, less than 1000 homes per year were constructed between 1840 and 1914 (Short, 1982: 28).

3.3.1 The Expansion of Council Housing

In the early part of the twentieth century, historical events were the main impetus for the establishment of the council housing sector. At that time, there was a large private rented housing sector, but during and after the First World War there was a shortage of affordable good quality housing. This created dissatisfaction amongst the working population and war veterans. This situation prompted the government to develop a national strategy for housing, with a promise to supply homes 'fit for heroes' (Swenarton, 1981). This was included in the *Housing and Town Planning Act of 1919* with a remit to build 500,000 in three years within the social sector. This act is noted as the beginning of council housing in London (LHU, 2002).

Local authorities were given powers to assess the extent of housing need in their area, and were required to make plans to meet those needs. This resulted in the large scale building programme taking place. However, the economic crisis of the time meant only skilled working class tenants could enter the council housing sector because of the high cost of rents. Therefore, the majority of workers could not afford council housing but continued to live in poor inadequate conditions. Social justice in terms of the availability of housing for local people was not satisfied as there was not enough affordable housing that could be provided for those in greatest need. The aims of council housing at this time were not based on principles of need, but were aligned to desert. Council housing was allocated to the 'most deserving' applicants, in a system which featured procedures that were based on housing as a reward rather than a necessity.

Council housing expansion before the Second World War developed because of the continuing shortage of housing. During the inter-war years, there was some increase in council building precipitated by legislation. Council housing policy was a response to the injustice of poor standards, and the operation of high rents charged by private

landlords. However, demand still outstripped supply in terms of low cost housing that most people could afford. There were several pieces of legislation in the 1930s that helped to change the strategic focus of council housing toward this aim. The *1930 Housing Act* encouraged multi-storey buildings to rehouse families from slums and set up a system of rent rebates. This was followed by *1935 Housing Ac*t that targeted overcrowding and increased low rents policy. Special grants for high rise building were introduced in the *1938 Housing Acts* (Balchin and Rhoden 1998: 7). The numbers of council houses built were still not significant enough to make an impact on those people suffering housing stress. This was due to the high cost of decent housing and selection by local authorities preventing the most disadvantaged from accessing council housing (Short 1982: 28). Figures in Table 3.1 released by ODPM (2002c), confirm there were 10.6 million homes in 1938.

Table 3.1 Changes in Housing Stock and Tenure 1938 to 2001

TENURE	1938	DEC 1979	MARCH 2001
Number of Dwellings (millions)	10.6m	17.7m	21.1m
Owner-occupied	32%	56%	70%
Privately rented	57%	13%	10%
Local Authority rented	11%	29%	13%
*RSL include Housing Associations	N/A	2%	7%

*RSL = Registered Social Landlord. Source: Housing Statistics (ODPM, 2002c).

The majority tenure (57%) was still private renting, local authority housing accounted for only 11% of housing. A significant increase in the amount of housing occurred after the election of the Labour Government in 1945. After the war in areas that had been bombed their was urgent need for housing. The moral climate after victory of the Second World War and the commitment to social welfare provided momentum for expansion of council building in the 1950s. To ensure that there was enough housing for all, programs were designed to build as many new homes a possible each year (Balchin and Rhoden, 1998: 11). The government took two courses of action to replace housing, developing new housing sites on the edge of existing metropolitan

areas and building New Towns. Policy to augment these was the basis for the large-scale building period of the two decades.

In 1951, the Conservative Government pledged 300,000 new homes per year. In 1965 the Labour Government promised to increase this to 500,000 (Short, 1982: 49, 55). By 1968 400,000 dwellings were built, this was the peak year of large-scale house building (Malpass, 1986: 6). The *Housing Subsidy Act 1967* allowed local authorities to construct cheap housing and to set space standards for room size and amenities. The 1967 Act also encouraged multi-storey housing by providing additional subsidy for blocks of flats over four storeys high.

Housing policy of governments in the 1950s and 1960s can be characterised by three elements: the amount of housing, the affordability of housing, and the quality of housing (Malpass , 1986). Spatial justice conceptions were evident in housing policy. During this period housing policy was area based, designed to ensure that provision met geographical needs. By the 1960s, local authorities had become the main provider of rented accommodation; consequently, local authorities began systematically to assess housing need in their localities (Cullingworth, 1979: 57). This provided the impetus for the examination of allocation procedures by the government, reaffirming the links to issues of justice in the system (CHAC, 1969).

3.3.2 The Residualisation of Council Housing

The discussion of early council housing shows that changes in housing policy has reinforced its purpose as a social good, but this has also reflected various interpretations of social justice in housing provision. In the 1970s, justice in housing was defined differently by both Labour and Conservative governments. Throughout the decade, the scale of building declined nationally as the Labour Government recognised that house shortages were localised and could not be addressed through targets for provision defined on a national scale (Malpass and Murie, 1994: 86). Table 3.1 shows that by 1979 there was a well established local authority housing sector accounting for 29% of tenure nationally and a small registered social landlords sector accounting for 2%. Also, home ownership had replaced private renting as the majority tenure.

Toward the end of the 1970s, the election of the Conservative Government marked a new era in social housing policy. Building homes was no longer the main component of council housing policy, this had shifted to concerns about the financing of housing and the subsidies provided by the state (Forest and Murie, 1988). Ideologically the Conservative Government favoured home ownership and policies such as 'right to buy' (RTB) that was interpreted as justice for council tenants (Kleineman, 1990). The governments interpretation of the purpose of council housing drastically altered the public face and size of the sector, resulting in reductions in funding and subsidies.

Table 3.2 sets out government expenditure on council housing between 1979-86 (which is the period prior to the research). These figures (cited in Malpass, 1986: 26 - 29) show capital funds to local councils falling, but in contrast expenditure on tax relief to homeowners constantly rising. This retrenchment in the sector came at a time of economic uncertainty corresponding to a rise in tenants on benefits. There is sharp rise in the cost of Housing Benefits, which although paid to people in private rented housing also accounts for a large number of households who are in council accommodation.

Table 3.2 Government Expenditure on Local Authority Housing, Housing Benefit and Mortgage Relief 1979 - 86

CENTRAL GOVT CAPITAL £ MILLIONS	79/80	80/81	81/82	82/83	83/84	84/85	85/86
TO *LOCAL AUTHORITY HOUSING	1,274	1,423	906	507	281	360	400
^HOUSING BENEFIT	932	1,039	1,395	1.663	2.133	2,547	2.690
^TAX RELIEF ON MORTGAGE	1,639	2,188	2,292	2,456	2,767	3,500	4,000

Source: *Cmnd 9428 Government expenditure plans 1985/86-1987/88 (HMSO 1985).
Source: ^Annual public expenditure white papers 1979/80 to 1985/86 Hansard vol. 49 (25.11.83).

One area of social housing where there was an increase in funding was for Housing Associations (HAs). The growth of HAs as an alternative social landlord became prominent after the 1970s. The number of HAs steadily increased after the Second World War and expanded rapidly between 1960s and 1980s (Balchin, 1995). This

was enabled in part by favourable funding provision from central government that had a policy to provide an alternative to council run social housing. Thus, governments were switching money away from councils to HAs. Applicants for social housing themselves were looking for choices other than renting, and HAs seemed to offer innovative building and financing schemes assisted by increases in government funding (Bramley and Morgan, 1998). In addition the decline in council stock meant that some groups had a better chance of being housed by HAs, often through partnership schemes with local authorities, which guaranteed some HA tenancies to applicants on council waiting lists. In the HA sector many housing associations offered part-rent and part-buying schemes. Government figures in Table 3.1 show that the proportion of HA stock increased from 2% of total stock in 1979 to 7% in 2001 expanding to more than twice its original size. They are now termed Registered Social Landlords and account for a third of the housing in the social sector.

During the 1980s, the 'right to buy' (RTB) encouraged households that were able to take advantage of home ownership to buy their rented homes, removing them from the public rented sector. The RTB policy for council tenants, combined with the slump in house building, accelerated the decline in the amount of council housing. Debates surrounding contraction of the sector centred on residualisation factors in local authorities (Somerville, 1998). Factors such as financing and changes in the types of household entering and their economic characteristics have relegated council housing to the tenure of last resort (Lee and Murie, 1999). Government figures show a massive decrease in the size of the sector, shrinking by more than half in the 1980s and 1990s. Council housing dwellings had reduced from 29% of total housing stock in 1979 to just 13% in 2001. In the late 1990s, applicants had less choice in the types of property available due to reduction in the supply of housing, as properties were sold and became unavailable for renting.

3.4 APPLICANTS OF HOUSING

This section introduces the general background on the type of applicants and tenants in the system in the 1980s and 1990s. The Commission on Social Justice (1994a) identified large households with dependent children, those headed by lone parents,

women and ethnic minorities as requiring extra support in accessing housing. Often, council housing is the main source of affordable housing for these households. Most of these groups have below average levels of owner occupation, and tend to occupy disproportionately the worst housing in all tenures. Therefore, prioritisation within the council housing system is based on improving access to housing for some of these socially disadvantaged groups. Council housing also aims to support economically disadvantaged groups, through financial incentives demonstrated by lower rents and a system of housing benefit to help with rent payments. The remainder of the section focuses on the homeless, low income households and ethnic minority applicants, these were groups of applicants that were becoming the dominant new occupants of council housing in the 1990s.

3.4.1 Housing the Homeless

The *Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977* was the first bill that placed a statutory duty on local authorities to house homeless people. The *Housing Act 1985* part III and *the Housing Act 1996* part VII made further requirements to this duty. Local authorities adhere to these laws in assessing homelessness applicants as either statutory homeless or intentionally homeless. A person is statutorily homeless if there is no accommodation that they can occupy, have access to or have an interest in (*Housing Act 1985 Section 58*). Thus, some applicants who initially applied for housing as homeless my be housed through the housing route. Under section 59 of the 1985 Act priority is given to certain applicants, including pregnant women, people with dependent children and vulnerable groups, i.e. the elderly, sick and disabled. In addition those threatened with homelessness due to emergency situations, fire, explosion or flood are also given high priority (Pawlowski, 1998). Even within the homeless system, there is hierarchy of needs. Thus, some homeless applicants are deemed more deserving of housing than others are. Those with dependent children and medical needs are given highest priority and single and childless applicants are given less[15]. This demonstrates that conflicting principles of desert are combined with universal principles of need in assessing homeless cases (Fitzpatrick and Stephens,

[15] Most priority statutory homeless applicants have dependent children, reflecting Housing legislation but also importantly their duties to the needs of children in the *Children Act 1989.*

1999: 427). MacEwen (1990) argues that the less favourable treatment of some black applicants in the homeless system also shows this differential position.

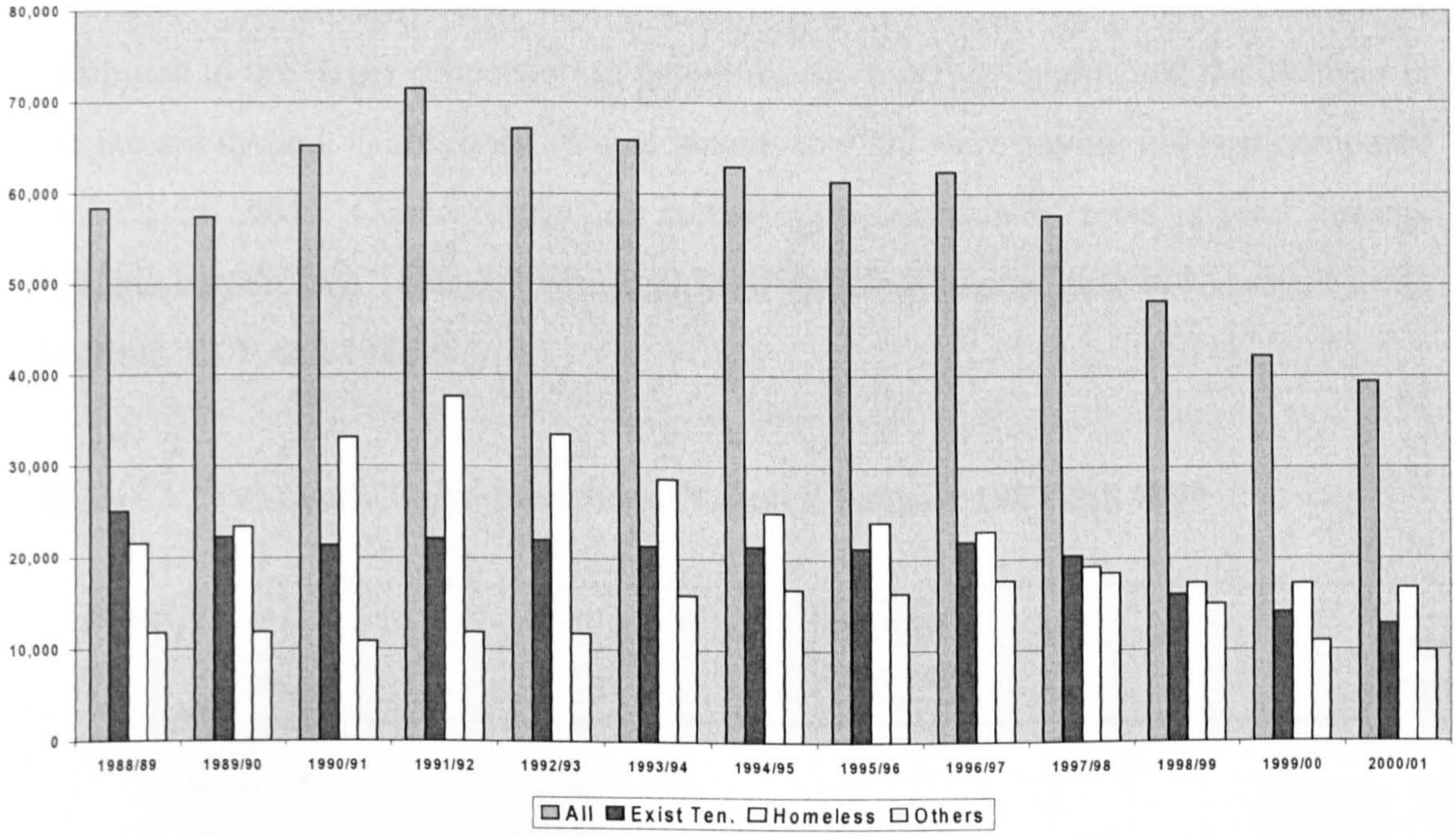
Councils can assess homeless applicants as 'intentionally homeless', this assumes that applicants deprived themselves of housing. These applicants do not qualify as priority homeless and may wait longer for council housing. Others may not be accepted on any register, and in some cases have no other option than to sleep rough. (Pleace and Quilgars, 1996: 4-7). Legalisation under the *Housing Act 1996* provided several options for local authorities; they do not have to provide accommodation to all homeless applicants. Alternatively they can offer advice or referral to other agencies (Cloke et al., 2000). However the burden of housing most homeless does fall on local authorities under the *1985 Housing Act*, a smaller amount are housed by HAs (National Federation of Housing Associations, 1989).

Homelessness has a geographical dimension, varying by region. Government figures for 1997 show that London had the highest numbers of statutory homeless, followed by the West Midlands and the North West (DTLR, 2002d: 10). Urban areas appear to be more susceptible to homelessness. One explanation may be that cites attract more vulnerable groups, and have more locations where these groups develop or become attached (Marcuse, 1993). Figure 3.1 shows council lettings (allocations) for London where a complex picture emerges, the number of lettings overall has declined but the proportion of lettings received by homeless applicant has risen. Outcomes show evidence of an increasingly larger share of council housing being reserved for those in very severe need. This also demonstrates important links to social justice and the state's role in fulfilling fundamental human needs for some 'deserving' citizens.

There has been some criticism of solutions to homelessness. Fitzpatrick and Stephens (1999:431) argued for greater emphasis on egalitarian rather than utilitarian principles, as the basis of allocation policy. Robinson (1998) supports this, arguing for better assessment of applicants with medical needs. Second, there is concern over the efforts required to change the socio-economic factors that causes homelessness (Crane and Warnes, 2000; DTLR, 2002d). Pleace and Quilgars (1996) argue for better health care policy and systems that focus on the implications and consequences

for the health sector. This argument suggests that available facilities in deprived neighbourhoods are considered, when assessing the homeless particularly, applicants with health needs. This view supports research by Collard (1995: 10-20) who found that poor quality housing, meant homeless applicants suffered severe housing stress and worsening health after being housed.

Figure 3.1 London Lettings for Council Housing 1988 to 2002



Source: Housing Statistics DTLR, 2002a

Links to deprivation and social exclusion highlights wider issue of homelessness and social justice (Carter, 1998; Clapham and Evans, 2000). High needs and the economic decline of tenants are the main characteristics in the background of tenants in the late 1990s. The increasing numbers of homeless applicants housed in local authority housing illustrates this situation. The next section discusses economic status of applicants and tenants, which is also a major factor for council housing.

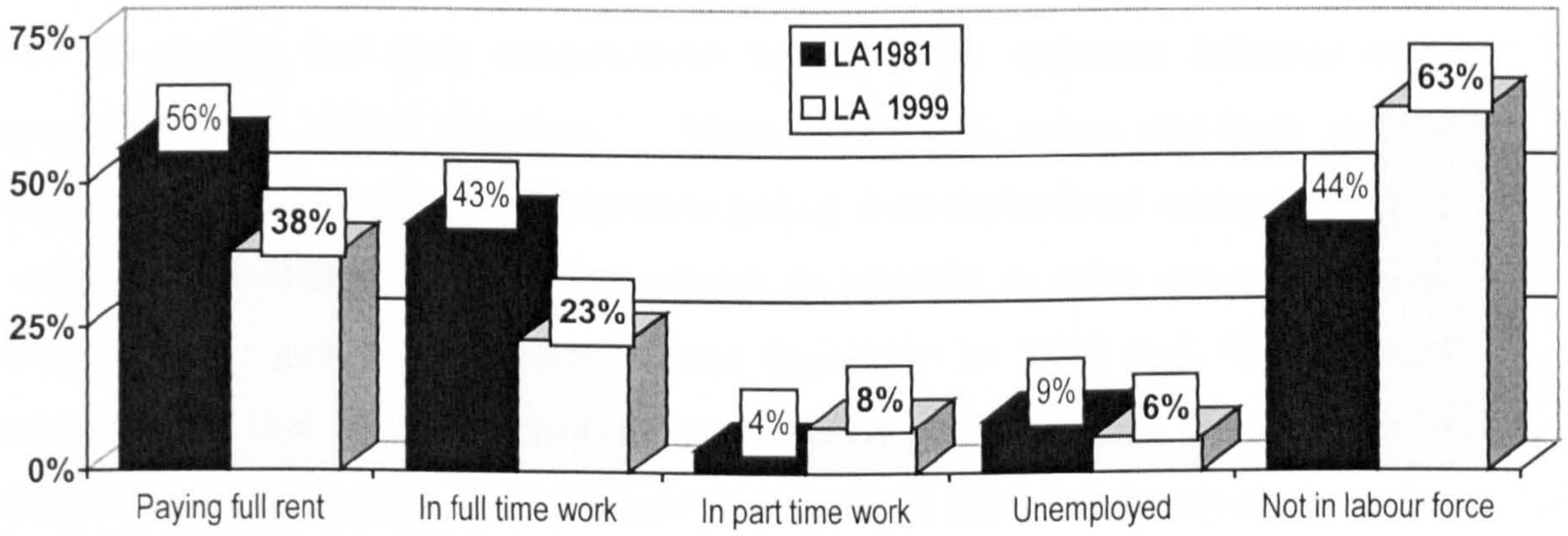
3.4.2 Economic Characteristics of Tenants in the 1980s and 1990s

During the 1980s and the late 1990s the majority of council occupants[16] were still renting their accommodation. Since the previous decade, the economic position of

[16] A distinction is made between council occupants renting their homes and those that have purchased property as leaseholders though smaller numbers this is rising (ODPM, 2002c)

tenants had declined and this continued during this period. This was reflected in the changing employment characteristics of applicants during the process of residualisation. Figure 3.2 gives figures for the economic characteristics of tenants in local authorities in England in 1981 and 1999 (ODPM, 2002c). It shows a growing proportion of council tenants outside the labour force (for example, retired, caring for children, students). In contrast, the proportions of tenants who work full-time has decreased. Less than a quarter of tenants (23%) were working full time. Figure 3.2 also shows that proportion of unemployed tenants is lower than 1981, which can be attributed to the larger proportion of economically inactive tenants and the changes in the benefit system. Thus, only 38% of tenants in 1999 were paying full rent compared to 56% in 1981. Consequently, an increasing proportion of rents is paid through housing benefit (see Table 3.2 which showed threefold expenditure in housing benefit between 1979 and 1986).

Figure 3.2 Economic Characteristics of Council Tenants 1981 and 1999



Source: Council Housing Statistics (ODPM, 2002c).

Figure 3.2 has already illustrated that the majority of existing tenants are economically inactive. Burrows (1997) undertook research into the economic characteristics of households entering and leaving the council sector. Burrows found that whilst a wide range of households were leaving the sector, a narrower group of tenants were entering. His research identified that adults aged between 16 and 29 years headed the majority of households entering social housing. These types of households accounted for 72% of new households compared to 14% of existing ones.

3.4.3 Black and Ethnic Minority Tenants

This section provides background about the entry and treatment of Black and Asian tenants into the council housing sector in England. It begins by establishing that racial characteristics are an important indicator in defining injustice. This is followed by a short historical outline of the issues of inequality connected to council housing and race. Concluding comments relate to the necessity of council housing for some ethnic groups and the consistent poor position of minorities in the allocation system. The discussion reinforces the position of council housing as a fundamental need and supports the operation of fair and just systems for distribution.

Several decades of research into the treatment of ethnic minority applicants in the council system, has shown differential housing access. The focus of debates have mainly been on Asian and Caribbean applicants identified by skin colour. Initially in the 1960s research into racial disadvantage such as the PEP survey (Daniel, 1968) focused on groups from the New Commonwealth and Pakistan (NCWP). Brown (1984: 6) argued that their classification of non-white applicant reflected mass immigration to the United Kingdom [17]. Miles (1993: 169) argues this itself was not straightforward, as debates on immigration policy were radicalised centering on area of origin and focusing on Black immigrants as opposed to other groups who had similar or less rights of settlement. Later legislation in 1968 and 1971 reduced immigration so that by 1970s most ethnic minority residents were the children of immigrants born in the UK. This changed later research from immigrant communities to indigenous Black and Asian groups (Smith, 1977; Brown, 1984: 2).

During the 1980s racial categorisation debates coalesced around a discourse that identified specific groups of tenants and their personal characteristics, particularly their race (Henderson and Karn, 1984). Most research such as that by the Policy Services Institute identified race determined by skin colour as a major factor in specifying unequal treatment in the housing (Brown, 1984: 2-4; CRE, 1984). Different ways of conceptualising race has articulated and emphasised various factors.

---

[17] PEP (Political & Economic Planning) an independent policy unit surveyed the British 'Black' populations in 1966 and 1974, this was later undertaken by PSI in 1984 and 1997.

Writers have argued that politics (Solomos; 1993), history (Outlaw, 1992: 66-68; Jordon, 1987), class (Hall, 1995; Miles, 1993: 5-39) and geography (Bonnett, 1996; Jackson, 1987; Smith, 1989) as contributors to racial discourse. Ethnic categorisation has caused further debate in identifying constructions of race based on colour (Anthias, 1990: 21; 1992) and relating appropriate meanings purveyed by racial categories (Nanton, 1989; 1994). For this research arguments that race is socially constructed, are the most relevant for interpreting and explaining injustice in council housing allocation (Association of Metropolitan Authorities, 1985, Commission for Racial Equality, 1991a). The usage of Black, Asian and White identify race, Bangladeshi will refer to specific communities and minorities, referring to the spectrum of groups that include all non-white groups (Banton, 1997; Husband, 1987).

As councils began to build and the post war economy grew in the 1950s; demands for workers encouraged Commonwealth immigration. People that came to live in the cities and towns in England increased the demands for affordable housing. Newly settled immigrants who wanted affordable housing were not able to apply for council housing (Ward, 1987). In the 1960s access to housing was the main issue for ethnic minority groups, problems centred on eligibility for council housing. Many minorities at the time were newly arrived immigrants who did not satisfy the residence criteria for housing that most councils included. For local authorities access to council housing for these tenants became an issue of justice, as the eligibility criteria for housing was questioned in the late 1960s by the Government (CHAC, 1969). Eligibility determined by length of residence restricted access to applicants from the NCWP and provided an effective barrier to council housing for these groups (Ward, 1987).

Later, entry into the sector was not the controlling element as applicants complied with residence qualification. Despite this, councils wanted to ensure that tenants would be 'deserving' of housing and restrictions were imposed through the role of housing welfare officers. Burney (1967) identified their important contribution to the poor housing received by NCWP applicants, establishing that the views of officers had a strong influence on type and location of council housing allocated. Preconceptions of housing visitors and assessors about suitable types of housing for

non-white applicants were often based on stereotypical views and preferences of the housing staff. The role of welfare officers in assessing and deciding standards, and thereby the quality of housing applicants were offered, contributed to the poor quality of housing that they eventually received (Burney, 1967). This was a consequence of local policy and practice where applicants were treated according to local rather than universal interpretation of need. This focused eligibility on individuals rather than their needs this was illustrated by the following quote from the CHAC report on housing allocation:

> "The underlying philosophy seemed to be that council tenancies were to be given only to those who deserved them and that the most deserving should get the best houses. Thus, unmarried mothers, people cohabiting, 'dirty families' and 'transient' tended to be grouped together as 'undesirable'. Moral rectitude, social conformity, clean living and a clean rent book seemed essential qualifications for eligibility." (CHAC, 1969: 33).

Thus, allocations were closely aligned to principles of desert and were open to subjective criteria of undesirable persons and characteristics as principles of distribution. This practice continued until changes enforced by legalisation in the *1977 Housing Act,* emphasised a needs based system as the way forward for disadvantaged groups. During the 1970s, the debates continued around access for non-white applicants, mainly NCWP applicants. Most ethnic minority households had settled in slum clearance areas or into housing of poor standard (Smith, 1977; Baboolal, 1981).

The poor quality of housing received was compounded by allocation to deprived locations. This contributed to geographical segregation and concentrations of groups on particular estates and localities. Research by the Runnymede Trust (1975) using the 1971 census identified the residential consequences of these housing policies. It was evident that only certain areas were considered suitable for some groups, demonstrated by the PEP survey of housing outcomes for ethnic minorities (Smith, 1977).

In London, research into allocations by the Greater London Council also concluded that there was geographical and residential segregation in council housing (Parker and

Dugmore, 1975). The report confirmed ethnic concentrations on poorer quality estates. However, the authors argued that it was difficult to assess the extent that choice of particular areas and the role of housing officials may have influenced outcomes (*op cit.*, 69). Following legal changes in the *Race Relation Act 1976* the CRE was provided with new powers and a statutory framework for local authorities to implement fair allocation policies (Johnson, 1987; McEwen, 1994).

The debates about council housing allocation in the 1980s mainly focused on discrimination in the system, particularly the quality of properties received by racial groups (Jacobs, 1985). Ethnic minority council applicants had been systematically allocated poorer housing compared to their white counterparts (Brown, 1984). A high profile CRE intervention into the housing department of the London Borough of Hackney found unequal allocation of poorer quality housing to Black applicants (Grub, 1987). They were encouraged to develop equal opportunity strategies for housing applicants to ensure fairness and prevent discrimination in allocation. This was a vehicle for the widespread adoption of policies for all councils, promoting racial harmony and non-discrimination in housing (CRE, 1989a; 1989b). Henderson and Karn (1984), researching council housing allocation in the West Midlands, were still concerned with access and quality of properties. Later researchers at the end of the decade still confirmed discrimination and ethnic concentration as one of the main problems for Black and Asian applicants and tenants (Smith et al., 1987; 1989).

These arguments continued throughout the 1990s, when it was still possible that some Black and Ethnic Minority groups suffered more housing stress and disadvantage than other groups (Peach and Byron, 1994). Dependency on council housing was high for some ethnic groups. The 1991 census showed that 41% of Africans, 37% Bangladeshi and 36% of Caribbean households were living in council housing in England. Reduction in stock has meant that rationing is more important for all groups, particularly these minorities fairness (CRE, 1993a; 1993b). Caribbean and Bangladeshi households in 1991 had the highest proportion living in flats, 44% and 42% compared to 20% of white households. Bangladeshi household were also the most overcrowded (47%). Recent research shows that these groups still have a high dependence on council housing (Housing Corporation, 2001; Chahal, 2000; CRE,

1999). Demands for housing and the severity of need has increased for some communities, with social exclusion debates recognising the links to minority groups (Ratcliffe, 1998). One dimension is high vulnerability to homelessness and an over-representation in homeless figures (Carter, 1998; CRE, 1999).

In conclusion, over the last 40 years, although there had been a shift in the major issues confronting council housing as a whole, for ethnic communities the core issues have remained essentially the same. Local authorities, as the major landlords of social housing, were slow to adapt to the needs of new ethnic minority applicants in the 1960s and 1970s (particularly in the urban areas). Later, in the 1980s and 1990s, councils were slow to recognise and initiate strategies to ensure that there was equal treatment and fair outcomes (CRE, 1984; 1985; 1988). Historically research has shown the connected themes of unequal access, unfair treatment and discrimination for minority tenants. This produces a persuasive argument for research in social justice and council allocation for racial groups.

To make an effective connection with social justice, the context of council housing system must be understood. This comprises four elements: stakeholders in housing, the importance of locality, the organisational context, and the policy context of council housing. The following four sections explain their contribution to the background of council housing as an example of the application of social justice in public distributions.

3.5 STAKEHOLDERS INVOLVED IN HOUSING

Council housing involves a wide spectrum of groups involved in action connected to allocation. These groups are called stakeholders as they have a 'stake' or interest in development and outcomes in housing (Doling, 1997: 45-57). Elster (1992) presents a useful framework for the discussion of their role in the distribution of social goods. He identifies four groups: institutional staff, political actors, applicants and local opinion as involved in rationing and allocation procedures. I have added one important stakeholder to his model, external agencies as they work closely in ensuring national and local objectives for council housing participants.

Table 3.3 Stakeholder Groups their Rationale and Role in Council Housing Allocation

GROUPS (2)	ROLE IN ALLOCATION (2)	RELEVANT STAKEHOLDERS (3)
INSTITUTIONAL STAFF	Responsible for allocation tasks	Assessing applicants for housing; matching properties to applicants
POLITICAL ACTORS	Controlling scarce resources, political leverage	Members on committees connected to Housing e.g. Policy & Resources, Finance, Recruitment & Training
APPLICANTS	To request, apply or claim for scarce goods, services or resources	People applying for housing and requesting transfers grouped by need, race and housing route
LOCAL OPINION	Views on institutions allocation process whether, policy, access, allocation or outcomes	Local media, community groups, tenants & residents associations
EXTERNAL AGENCIES	Guiding and or monitoring policy	DOE, DETR, ODPM guidelines on housing, CRE regulatory role on equal opportunity, Other researchers and pressure groups

Source: Based on Elster (1992: 135-183) and developed from various sources listed in text.

The five stakeholder groups have a role in the distributive process for social housing and are responsible for particular tasks. Table 3.3 sets out a general model of stakeholders in allocation (Elster, 1992: 135-183). The Table shows both the tangible or 'seen' aspects of the process and the 'unseen' in columns 2 and 3. The 'seen' roles of the specific groups are documented and can be externally validated, these are set out in column 2. The table begins with individuals in the institutions that are responsible for allocating goods or resources. The main role of political actors is the controlling of (scarce) resources to undertake allocation, and this involves determining the aims of distribution through listening to their constituents and using political leverage. Applicants act to pursue requests or claim for social goods, services or resources. The function of local opinion is to expose and assess the institution's policy on council allocation in different parts of the process. This produces an open or democratically constituted discussion as necessary, on housing access, procedures or outcomes thus facilitating debates for change. Local opinion also seeks to lobby for the opinions of the more influential groups in the local

communities. Finally, external agencies have an important role guiding and monitoring policy at various stages of allocation. An essential role involves ensuring that national consensus on egalitarian concepts embedded in policy concerning access to housing and fair outcomes for housing groups are adopted locally. Column 3 gives examples of some of the relevant stakeholders involved in council housing allocation in England.

For stakeholders their role in allocation is based on their interpretations of justice and this influences their role in the allocation process. The existence of various concepts of justice described in Chapter 2 and stakeholder allegiances to these different notions of social justice in housing may affect allocation policy. Evidence of this will be sought from the case studies discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. Discussion in the remainder of this Chapter and throughout the thesis will consider different stakeholders interpretation of housing as a fundamental human need and as a social good.

3.6 LOCALITY AND HOUSING

This section explains the importance of locality for housing and the determining influence of locality factors on distributive and procedural justice. Locality can refer to an area defined by a geographical boundary, but at the multi- dimensional level, it relates to a particular area, location, situation or place (Duncan, 1989). Locality has different meanings for the stakeholders of council housing. The question of what locality means to the various stakeholders in council housing is an important question for this research. 'Locality' is a socially constructed term; it includes the different meanings of related terms, such as territory, region, community and neighbourhood. Writers and theorists emphasise different aspect of locality that are significant to their own understanding and conception of space. Johnston (1991: 97) emphasised the physical built environment and people, whilst Agnew (1987) focuses on the importance of the politics to the locality. These different views give rise to various understandings and representations of locality by individuals and groups in housing allocation.

Council housing has a strong spatial dimension shown in its fixed location in residential areas or localities. Council housing management is also organised into administrative 'housing localities', which may be large areas, incorporating more than one estate or cluster of council homes. Alternatively, housing localities can be smaller parts of a housing district within a neighbourhood or borough. Areas can be even smaller and very locally based referring to single housing estates. These smaller localities often have distinct characteristics that are often the source of particular housing problems, which the local authority as a provider of housing may need to resolve. Most information from the council and external sources are related or based on locality boundaries created by the council. Therefore, the discussion will focus on institutional interpretation of locality used by the local authority. What is also important to this institutional perspective of locality is that boundaries are not static. They can be re-drawn and changed over time.

3.6.1 Fixed nature of housing

Council housing is a fixed commodity in two ways. Houses are fixed solid structures in the form of flats, maisonettes and houses[18]. As buildings they cannot be quickly changed and tend to be regarded as inflexible. Second, housing is fixed to a geographical location, which establishes a particular link to that locality[19]. These characteristics mean that housing is not amenable to rapid modification, although it has a remit to suit varying needs. This has been difficult, since there has been very little new building by local authorities since the 1980s, and combined with 'residualisation' in the sector, has accelerated the decline in housing and its ability to meet some needs.

Housing let or occupied by tenants in the 1990s has a particular legacy based on regulations and designs of earlier decades. Council housing has followed guidelines influenced by social and economic factors, such as war and slum clearance in the 1940s and 1950s. These can be interpreted through various design and architectural

---

[18] During the 1990s there has been a drive to demolish high rise blocks and replace them with smaller low-rise units; often these were small one off schemes. However, this takes some time, often years, whilst the phases of designing, funding, planning and building take place.

[19] Thus, for council housing stock, buildings and areas are fixed, these permanent features cause difficulties for changing needs, such as housing abandonment (Keenan et al., 1999).

perspectives in building council housing (Towers, 2000: 48-53). A utilitarian perspective developed from early concerns in the 19th century connected to housing and health has the longest tradition. The aims were to provide sound, clean and dry housing, the opposite being unsafe, dirty and damp housing affordable to those on low incomes (Harriott and Matthews, 1998: 40).

This type of basic housing design had little added benefit to tenants other than a better home. There was little emphasis on public amenities, visual aesthetics and landscaping factors – the importance was in providing good cheap accommodation. This utilitarian perspective describes the case for many high rise buildings in the 1960s where it was necessary to build housing quickly, cheaply and at high density. Also, supporting the case for high rise buildings, there was a view that high rise flats, when planned with adequate room space, could provide good quality housing. Tower blocks were seen as 'Streets in the sky' by architects Alison and Peter Smithson in 1952 (Glendinning and Muthesius, 1994: 116). This phrase epitomised the modernist approach to housing signified by a mix of high rise tower blocks and low rise blocks. Tower blocks were considered a pleasant alternative to the crammed unhealthy dwellings, that were demolished by slum clearance (Towers, 2000: 39). This policy was gradually abandoned as social stigma and family problems began to be associated with this type of housing in the 1970s (Towers, 2000: 64-70; Power, 1993; 195-200). One of the criticism was that 'poor' housing construction (this includes tower blocks) led to bad physical and social health (Lowry, 1991).

To build 'ideal' high quality homes would require greater financing and planning. The demands and amount of public funding for council housing meant that most were built cheaply and quickly (Short, 1982: 156, 226). Thus, some estates were functionally designed with poorer construction and little value added space such as storage, amenities and play areas. Conflicts over quality standards also meant that there were differences in the quality of council dwellings (Tower, 2000: 69). This view was given prominence by debates in the 1980s and 1990s that certain structural forms of council housing were the root of social problems encountered on council housing estates (Coleman, 1985; Power and Tunstall, 1997; Power, 1999). These researchers considered poor housing a malaise that provided the impetus for many of

Britain's urban housing problems. These arguments have continued in the long running debate about the quality of housing and effects on tenants and localities.

The character of localities may be partly defined by the housing which makes up a residential area. Certain types of housing may dominate a particular area so that it is possible that council housing can be the majority form of tenure in a locality. This is often a legacy based on the tall blocks of the 1950s, and 1960s and the high-density, low-rise estates of the late 1960s and early 1970s. (Power, 1999: 43; Towers, 2000: 87). The concentration of population in urban areas makes the density of multi-storey housing a popular choice for local authorities. In inner areas, this usually means multi-storey housing built within the boundaries of the local authorities. Purpose built flats are the dominant forms of housing in eight London boroughs where more than 50% of housing is purpose built flats (LRC, 1995: 94, 145). Buildings mainly consist of multi-storey housing combined with landscaping, walkways and internal roads to produce large housing estates (Power and Tunstall, 1995; Power 1997). Thus, housing quality in terms of form, space and amenities depends partly on where housing is situated.

3.6.2 Local communities and Council Housing

Location is an important factor in the level of social, economic and educational opportunities experienced by tenants (Whitehead, 2002). The links between disadvantage and poor housing has a long history, (see earlier discussion on the history of council housing). The worst housing tends to be occupied by those who have least choice, little money and less opportunities in society, suggesting a causal link to economic deprivation and social exclusion (Gardiners, 2000; Mitlin, 2001). Work by Anderson and Sim (2000) has shown that there are some new challenges to this old problem, with new dimensions to housing deprivation such as abandonment of habitable dwellings being recognised as another exclusionary process (Keenan et al., 1999).

In the 1980s design shortcomings were considered to be at the root of many problems encountered on council housing estates (Coleman, 1985). The issue of bad housing

design was seen as a contributory factor in the injustices already suffered by tenants in these locations. In the late 1990s urban and housing policies shifted away from the built environment to wider socio-economic issues affecting localities (Taylor, 1998). The Labour Government in the late 1990s recognised there was a 'new' problem of widespread deprivation (Social Exclusion Unit, 1998). The Government defined social exclusion as the result of people or areas suffering from a combination of linked problems, such as: unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown. The most important characteristic of social exclusion is that these problems are linked and mutually reinforcing, and are able to combine creating a complex and fast moving cycle (Social Exclusion Unit, 1998)

According to Levitas (1998: 17–23) in developing policy solutions the government emphasised social exclusion as being linked to the labour market. Thus, interpreting exclusion as connected to employment and economic factors. In this respect housing estates with a large proportion of economically inactive adults and high levels of unemployment would experience higher levels of social exclusion. However, Kleineman (2000: 55) in his assessment of social exclusion policy found that place was a more important element in this process. He found that there was some evidence that strategies to eradicate exclusion focusing on area deprivation were beneficial for these communities. Therefore, in terms of location many council housing estates are defined as socially excluded (Lee and Murie, 1999).

Somerville (1998) has argued that housing inequalities are particularly evident in locations where there is a significant amount of social housing. These neighbourhoods are also characterised by high levels of unemployment, poor health, crime and high incidences of anti-social behaviour in the community (Webster, 2000; Sim, 2000; Ford, 2000). They often have low employment, business and educational opportunities (Marsh et al., 2000). Residential mobility from households leaving these estates has had a destabilising affect on communities, severing friendship and family ties contributing to the malaise and disaffection in localities (Pawson and Bramley, 2000). Long term deprivation in localities impacts on the health status of

populations producing more instances of poor health connected to housing (Marsh et al., 2000).

Evidence has shown that some of the most powerful symptoms of social inequality in our society are spatially concentrated, in areas containing disadvantaged groups and poor housing (Burrows and Rhodes, 2000). Concerns about poor quality of housing, and the socio-economic indicators of some areas, provided impetus for debate about solutions to the lack of opportunities in deprived neighbourhoods (Anderson, 2000). Certain locations possess characteristics that exacerbate the intensity of deprivation, these neighbourhoods are identified by national and local government statistics (examples are the index of local conditions and uptake of benefits) [20]. These territorial indicators confirmed that location was significant in conceptualising spatial injustice (Boyne, 1991; 1993).

Many of these neighbourhoods have diverse ethnic populations linking some minorities to these deprived areas. Government figures estimate that 70% of ethnic minorities live in the 88 most deprived local authority districts, compared with 40% of the general population (ODPM, 2002a). Ratcliffe (1998) argues that exclusion for some minority groups has a more profound effect, which is not conveyed by the general uniform usage of the term exclusion. He criticised the term as being prescriptive, providing a 'broad brush' approach to inequalities and reducing the severe disadvantage suffered by some groups (Ratcliffe, 1998: 815-16).

Policies such as *The National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* and *New Deal for Communities* have been developed by Central Government to tackle problems of deprivation connected to certain localities and their communities (ODPM, 2002b: Social Exclusion, 2001). Table 3.4 demonstrates the over-representation of ethnic minorities in four out of the six localities selected for the New Deal for Communities in 1998. Compared to the average for England, some of these deprived localities have more young children and smaller proportions of elderly residents. Tower Hamlets had the highest proportions of ethnic minorities (73%) and dependent children (34%). In

[20] Social indicators that can be used to compare different factors or variables across defined boundaries, localities or groups.

contrast, Middlesborough and Manchester with mainly White populations and a large under sixteen population were selected, confirming that locations that are predominately white can also be deprived.

Table 3.4 Comparison of Key Population Factors in Localities selected for New Deal for Communities in 1998

	% of Minority Population	% of Population Retired	% of Population Under 16 years
Bradford	46	15	19
Nottingham	27	8	15
Manchester	5	16	26
Middlesborough	3	14	25
Newham	33	14	24
Tower Hamlets	73	13	34
ENGLAND	6	18	21

Source: ODPM Neighbourhood Renewal, 2002b.

Area based solutions supported by national funding were seen as most effective solution for estates in deprived areas (Smith, 1999). Identifying and mapping estates was used to deliver better services and target resources to achieve justice for tenants in these localities (DETR, 1997). Evans (1998) showed that some Housing Associations using the 'housing plus programme' were having varied success in tackling problems of deprivation on their estates. However, Kleineman's (2000) assessment of the government's policy solutions on exclusion found that there was a great deal of rhetoric but less evidence of solutions, creating a sense of justice for people. He concluded that policy effects over a longer period were needed to make an effective judgement and this was beyond the period of this research.

Most recipients of council housing now have difficulty competing for housing in the open market because of high levels of deprivation in the communities (e.g. unemployment, low educational standards, large households). Therefore, home ownership is often not a viable option for applicants living in some of these deprived locations. This lack of choice in housing tenure has been compounded by the

residualised nature of council housing, which means that council properties are often located on 'sink estates' in 'rundown' areas. The importance of locality and a spatial dimension in assessing social justice is acknowledged and explored in the case studies. Specifically the thesis will examine whether allocations of housing to new tenants in Tower Hamlets are contributing to further developments of spatially concentrated deprivation.

3.7 THE POLICY CONTEXT OF COUNCIL HOUSING

It is important to understand the role of policy in council housing. This provides the basic understanding of how notions of justice can be practically applied to allocation procedures and outcomes. One method involves following through policies from the initial conception, through implementation to eventual outcomes and then comparing the objectives at conception with actual delivery (Marsh, 1998).

Implementation has long been recognised as the main stage where failure to carry out policy objectives occurs. The work of Pressman and Wildavsky's (1973) on policy implementation in USA was one of the founding contributions to this debate. They examined the process of public policies and service delivery, and found that there were shortfalls or unintended outcomes they identified as a recognisable 'policy gap'. Work in the UK later confirmed that 'policy gaps' occurred in public policy institutions in the different policy arenas of health, local government and education (Dunsire, 1978; Gunn, 1978; Barrett and Fudge, 1981; Rhodes, 1981). It is now recognised that a deficit between policy intent and outcomes occurs routinely in policy (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984). Ham and Hill's (1984: 95-110) extensive review of implementation, identified that 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' strategies described the different approaches to this process. 'Top-down' approaches see implementation as concerned with clear objectives. Controlling implementation agencies should therefore produce desired results. This contrasts with 'bottom-up' approaches that acknowledge that competing views require negotiation and compromise to implement policy. Barrett and Hill (1984: 222) argue that underlying economic, cultural and social forces can adversely affect policy implementation by stakeholders. This illustrates that policy was a complex and contested process for participants (Parsons, 1995; Ham and Hill, 1984: 141).

Council housing implementation often involves the application of guidelines and practices by local authorities, exhibiting strategies that involve front-line staff who interface with the public and some consultation with applicant groups. This type of action is a 'bottom-up' approach, which favours a negotiated action. In line with other distributive policies, failures can occur in the allocation system. Malpass and Means (1993) investigating implementation in housing policy found that negotiations in the political process, the role of stakeholders and implementation agencies meant objectives were at best 'muddled through' with no specific type of approach. The type of housing and locality characteristics also affects implementation and contributes to locality differences in housing policy (Pickvance, 1990). In general, objectives of social justice in policy were often misconstrued by the action and decisions of those involved in implementation (Means 1993; Allen, 2001).

Officials as decision-makers in this process are important for understanding the development of just procedures and outcomes. The seminal work of Lipsky (1980) in the USA contributed to the debates about the actions of public officials in assessing and distributing services. He argued that officials in contact with clients worked within their own value systems and this was often different from that of the organisation. This was demonstrated in the way that officials tended to categorise applicants, assuming that some were more deserving than others by responding in stereotypical ways to their needs (Lipsky, 1980: 111). Earlier evidence in the UK had established the existence of similar actions by housing officials in assessing and offering properties, which influenced fairness and justice in eventual outcomes (CHAC, 1969; Niner 1975; Gray, 1976). Later research recognised that their actions were important in the intermediate processes of assessment and offering housing (Henderson and Karn, 1984). This research will focus on outcomes in assessing social justice in housing. Judgements are based on the procedures and decisions observed from outcomes and the role of officials is acknowledged in this process.

There are two relevant issues concerning council housing allocation. The first point is that it is part of a technical process. Housing works within a detailed statutory and legal framework and is effected by local conditions and supply and demand factors. The legalisation listed in Table 3.5 provides an indication of relevant Acts, which have had some influence on the allocation processes over the last 20 years. Acts that

concern allocation from 1976 to 1996 are listed by year; these have influenced procedures or contributed to issues of demand and supply in distributing council housing. Table 3.5 begins with the *1976 Race Relations Act* that places a duty on local authorities to promote equality of opportunity and good race relations in carrying out their responsibilities. The Act also distinguishes between direct and indirect discrimination. Indirect discrimination related to organisational practices and rules that worked unfairly against racial groups. This was relevant for the procedural element and outcomes of housing in council housing allocations policy such as monitoring (CRE, 1991a).

Central government is the major funding body, initiating and formulating most policy that concerns council housing (Murdoch, 2000). The government communicates and liaises with professional and public bodies in the sector through the Minister of Housing[21]. The remainder of Table 3.5 lists major Housing Acts providing the basis of allocation policy in the period of the research in the 1980s and 1990s.

Table 3.5 Major Legislation Influencing the Guidelines and Organisational Context of Allocation Policy between 1976 and 1998

	LEGISLATION	EFFECTS ON ALLOCATION MANAGEMENT
1976	Race Relations Act 1976	LA Duty to be fair not to discriminate, legal powers to enforce duty with Non Discrimination Notice.
1977	Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1976	Ensured that homeless applicants had a Unique and legal rights to be housed.
1980	Housing Act 1980	'Right to Buy', changes to types of property available for allocation.
1985	Housing Act 1985	Code of Guidance, provided legal definition of homelessness and 'priority need' for housing
1988	Housing Act 1988	Introduced assured Tenancies, Tenants Choice.
1989	Local Government and Housing Act 1989	Imposed controls on LA housing expenditure that effected stock repairs and the ability to maintain housing to suit some applicant needs.
1996	Housing Act 1996	Changes to council allocation for homeless applicants and the operation of housing lists, set up a single housing register.

Source: various government guidelines and legislation.

Policies are developed and practices justified through the legitimacy of this legal

[21] However, over the past 10 years housing has been the responsibility of several different central government departments, this has reflected the changing categorisation of housing under different ministries rather than the shifting importance of housing to society.

framework. Bell (1992) argues that legislation is able to define the outcomes of procedural justice by defining the boundaries of discretion for just outcomes. Legislation therefore increases the chances of achieving an adequate approximation of just outcomes in procedures. The main influence of the legal framework in allocation procedures is in defining those applicants that are to be given priority in the system. In this, way some distribution of housing to the most needy is assured. An example is the 1985 Housing Act that defined the statutory homeless, and set out which types of applicants would be considered in particular need through the 'priority need' category. Other legislation has influenced the supply and demand of housing, for example 'right to buy' under the *Housing Act 1980,* which reduced the ability of housing departments to meet requests for particular types of properties. The *Housing Act 1996* changed the way housing departments operated their housing registers for applicants requiring housing. Thus, various laws with different aims provide the framework for allocation policy; these may advantage or disadvantage certain groups in the system.

3.8 MANAGING COUNCIL HOUSING ALLOCATIONS

The role of managing housing is decisive one, working as either an asset or disadvantage in developing just strategies for housing allocation. The strong link that housing has with policy and the responsibility of councils to assess needs in their localities places managing housing as an important activity for effective distribution and rationing. These responsibilities are described as housing management consisting of various administrative, financial and legal functions. Tasks are complex in terms of financial and human resources, for example the management of repairs, of housing voids (empty homes) and rents. Most letting functions are carried out through bureaucratic administration that is labour intensive, in the sense that it uses human decision making and observations to make choices for allocating housing. The ability to undertake all these task effectively is a challenge for local authorities, resulting in a long running crisis in managing council housing since the Conservative Governments of the 1980s (Power, 1988). At that time the Audit Commission identified financial and management problems in setting and collecting rents, turning around empty properties and general inefficiency in the administrative systems (Audit Commission, 1986: 6).

The drive to improve management and increase efficiency resulted in organisation changes. Power's later worked found that this placed greater emphasis on financial skills rather than improving housing for tenants (Power, 1988). During the early 1990s the business aspects connected to allocation improved but in some ways this neglected to ensure that universal principles of justice were prominent whilst maintaining economic priorities. For example, homelessness increased rapidly in some areas, greatly increasing the spending burdens of councils. Thus, Fitzpatrick and Stephen's (1999) pointed out that policy to reduce homelessness in the 1990s involved balancing the cost of temporary accommodation, against a larger proportion of allocations for the homeless and the ability to house other housing applicants.

For allocation policies, generally the focus was on better management of housing registers and equal opportunities in housing access. For some London boroughs financial obligations resulted in two strategies, exercising caution in assigning homelessness status to reduce the recorded statutory homeless, and introducing measures to cut temporary accommodation costs. The changing focus of housing management has lead to uncertainties in the direction of housing management in the sector (Malpass and Murie, 1990; Clapham and Franklin, 1994). Franklin (1998) has suggested that the context of council housing management includes varying policy objectives, resource constraints and governance models. These, she argues, requires a thorough understanding before coherent and effectively managed housing services are developed (Clapham and Franklin, 1994). In her later research based on interviews with managers, she identified various roles causing conflicts in demands and expectations of managers. These include roles as policy implementers, custodians of morality and health, agents of social control, rational bureaucrats and immigration controllers. The research concluded that best practice was difficult to obtain within such a diverse environment (Franklin, 2000: 915). From this overview, it appears that achieving social justice is a difficult task because the interpretation of justice is unclear. Justice in the context of managing allocations maybe perceived as yet another policy objective and as one of the many differing priorities of housing staff.

The government does not have a preference as to whether housing management should be centralised or decentralised; that is left to the jurisdiction of the local

authority (Cole, 1993). The view of van Vliet (1990: 30) is that decentralised housing systems are justified because they are able to identify and prioritise community needs more appropriately than a central system. This is an important observation for the research, and supports some of the advantages for localised allocation policy. However, van Vliet (1990: 32) realises that in practice, these aims are often difficult to achieve as local government often lacks the resources to address problems confronted in achieving objectives. However, the government is concerned that housing management should be comprehensive and effective in terms of best practice. The government has therefore identified six activities that housing management should involve, briefly outlined below:

1. Letting of individual tenancies, including advice to tenants on their rights and responsibilities;
2. repairs to individual properties ('response repairs') for example leaking taps or broken window frames;
3. rent setting and collection of rent from individual tenants larger scale planned maintenance, for example replacement of central heating boilers or the installation of double glazing;
4. liaison with tenants' groups about how particular estates are managed;
5. working with the police and local people on developing community safety strategies, and on regeneration of estates;
6. develop, where appropriate, strategies for managing under-occupation (DTLR, 1998).

These different responsibilities of housing management identified by the government show the wide-ranging activities undertaken by local authorities as landlords (DTLR, 1998). The allocation of housing, although an important element of this responsibility, has to be carried out with consideration to other duties (Power, 1988; 1991), reflecting principles of 'common good'. For example the length of time properties are empty between lettings is monitored to ensure the council is not losing revenue and there is an efficient turnover of properties. Thus, other parts of the council housing service managed by the housing directorate are an important link in maintaining available properties to be let. Estate management provides the organisational

framework in which housing professionals work together on separate responsibilities that enable council housing to be administered to a community, as well as achieving the targets and benchmarks set by central government.

3.8.1 General Allocation Procedures

Allocating council housing properties is primarily an administrative method of rationing. This process includes two components a formalised policy framework in which procedures take place and administrative practices, designed to achieve assessment and allocation (Power, 1988; Means, 1993). Distribution takes place within a bureaucratic framework with four basic stages. These stages are: registering for housing, being assessed for housing, matching properties to tenants and finally offering and letting properties to tenants. Applicants enter the system by applying to a local authority where they have a particular connection as current or past residents.

In the late 1990s the government commissioned a study of practices and procedures in local authority allocations and their impacts on council housing applicants (DETR, 1998)[22]. The study found a common method of allocating housing existed; this involved two administrative stages. First a general matching of applicants according to size of properties (number of bedrooms) and type of households. This is followed by a more specific selection of properties suitable to individual needs and, which are connected to their housing priority group. To assess the relative physical, social and medical needs of applicants, councils used a range of factors. These operated as indicators of an applicant's housing need and were designed to reflect the cumulative circumstances of households. Thus, a single comparative measure of each application was achieved whilst prioritising individual cases, for example, the points system where points are allocated according to individual circumstances.

Within the allocation system, various methods produce different interpretations of housing need, and this reflects the rationales of various stakeholders (applicants, housing officers, managers and councillors). Each stakeholder is located in different spheres or moral spaces that interpret housing as need, desert or right (Walzer, 1983:

[22] Fifty local authorities were reviewed; eight were researched in detail.

56-69; Smith, 2000a 9-14). However, within this diversity the allocation systems adhered to some notion of need. The aim of providing housing for vulnerable groups was preserved, confirming the importance of moral principles in the development of council housing policy (Brown, 2000; King, 2000). Assessing the housing needs of applicants for tenancies is only part of the picture in allocating housing.

3.8.2 Restrictions on Allocations Policy

In letting properties, there are several considerations and restrictions placed on allocation policy. Marsh and Mullins (1998: 178) identified eight factors that controlled some types of demands and supply of council housing. These are set out in the rows in Table 3.6. Overall the Table illustrates Elsters model that allocation should include the ability to prioritise and manage demand for goods (Elster, 1992: 104-6). Table 3.6 column 1 sets out eight factors where stakeholders may exert control, column 2 denotes the geographical arena in which some of these measures are applied and column 3 examples of control measures.

The Table begins with universal factors of legislation and regulation set by central government. These include basic legislation that provides the framework for basic housing duties and statutory responsibilities, such as homelessness, priority setting and equal opportunity for local authorities nationally. Council housing is one of the policy streams where notions of social justice can be applied to methods and procedures in housing at a local level. For council allocation, implementation is translated into the administration of guidelines and practices by local authorities. Therefore, the next five factors are based on local circumstances and are implemented through local housing allocating institutional. For housing, this can be in various departments of the council: the allocations section, estate offices and housing registration. Eligibility for housing was controlled for some groups, as most local authorities restricted applications to those who lived or work in the area. Thus, most local authorities operated Elster's idea of using individual criteria, in which application are connected to an individual characteristic which is then used to determine access to the good (Elster, 1992: 63). The DETR (1998) research also

found further criterion used to exclude applicants who were under 18 or homeowners. In a few cases, restrictions were relaxed for 'low demand properties'[23].

Table 3.6 Factors Controlling access to Council Housing

FACTORS (1)	LEVEL (2)	TYPE OF CONTROL (3)
LEGISLATION	National	Basic Legal Framework for housing policy central government.
REGULATION	National	Further detailed guidance set by government departments or by other government bodies.
ELIGIBILITY	Whole Borough	Restrictions applied by local policies e.g. residence qualification.
PRIORITISIATION	Whole Borough	Methods used to prioritise applications, points, date order.
SELECTION	Housing Localities	Mainly property led, other issues include, reducing voids, social/ethnic mix on estate.
LIMITED OFFERS	Whole Borough Housing Localities Particular Estates	Limits on number of offers made, and the way they are made, a single choice at one time.
NATURE OF HOUSING STOCK	Housing Localities particular Estates	Geographical distribution, size, age, type of property affect housing available.
APPLICANTS KNOWLEDGE	Housing Localities particular Estates	Differential bargaining power and knowledge used to exploit choices between areas, landlords, property types.

Source: adapted from Marsh and Mullins (1998:178).

Local authorities have developed several strategies for prioritising housing, but generally these all share some essential points, including the fact that they are all based on some definition of housing need. Doyal and Gough's (1991: 196) analysis of need defined three elements that constituted general need. These are internationally recognised as: housing that offers protection from the elements (the most serious violation of this is homelessness), good sanitation to ensure health, and low levels or little overcrowding in dwellings. These basic indicators of adequate

[23] Properties that are difficult to let, usually those that have been refused several time by potential tenants e.g. Properties on high floors, with difficult access i.e. no lift, in high crime areas, on run down estates (Taylor, 1979).

housing are incorporated into the assessment of need by local authorities for housing specific applicants.

Prioritisation strategies were developed into procedures by the councils to define access for applicants, and order them in terms of severity and place them in a queue. Priority was operated in three ways. First, through housing routes, housing departments operated registers for housing applicants that were organised for different categories of applicants, for example statutory homeless, existing tenant's and general waiting list. Second, points were usually developed to prioritise need. Councils used these methods to ration housing fairly. Alternatively, they provided a method to quantify or reward length of time taken to offer housing. Similar methods were identified by Elster (1992: 105) as enabling the fair rationing of goods in public organisations. Eligibility and prioritisation policies were found operating throughout most local authority housing departments (Marsh and Mullins, 1998: 178).

A combination of these three systems are used to assess applicants, although universal egalitarian notions of justice are seen as important other concepts of justice are evident in system. The case of some medical housing cases demonstrates this. Research has shown that unsuitable housing can adversely affect a person's health status (Smith et al., 1991; Dunn, 2000). For the chronically sick and disabled, poor or inadequate housing will worsen their health condition (Kearns and Smith, 1993). Therefore, those that are assessed as having health needs are given a higher priority in the council system. However, within the medical housing system a health hierarchy exists, where principles of need are subordinated to ideas of desert connected to certain illnesses (Robinson, 1998). For example, applicants with visible medical conditions are seen as more deserving of housing than those diagnosed as mentally ill (Smith, 1991). The main obstacle for some of these 'less deserving' applicants is access to a medical housing category within the system. Once assigned, applicants with physiological illness are able to gain more advantage over those with psychosocial illness (Smith, 1990). This lower medical recognition is reflected in their reduced status. Often manifest in their poor ability to gain high priority or to receive the most suitable housing, consequently they fare worse in the system.

Selection factors related to the fixed features of the housing forms, but also contained a mix of factors such as voids management and social ethnic diversity. Housing selection reflected the local demands of those waiting or requiring new housing. This was combined with stock availability in the local area, thus smaller housing localities were best at using this strategy (DETR, 1998).

Limited offers refer to the practice of reducing the number of offers or the type of housing available for some applicants. Because of its fixed nature, this can be at any geographical level. Applicants receiving housing can also be limited in the offers they receive. Features of the housing stock can affect the supply and demands of housing available. Geographically this type of control can cover different scales, from the entire area to some localities or specific estates. Individuals exercising choices or opportunities in the council housing system implement the last factor, applicants' choice. Their own knowledge and awareness of the system inadvertently reduces their choices. Characteristics of race, gender, marital status and household size and income also affected this (Lee, 1998; Balchin, 1998). All these various local factors produce diversity within the allocation system, noted by the research:

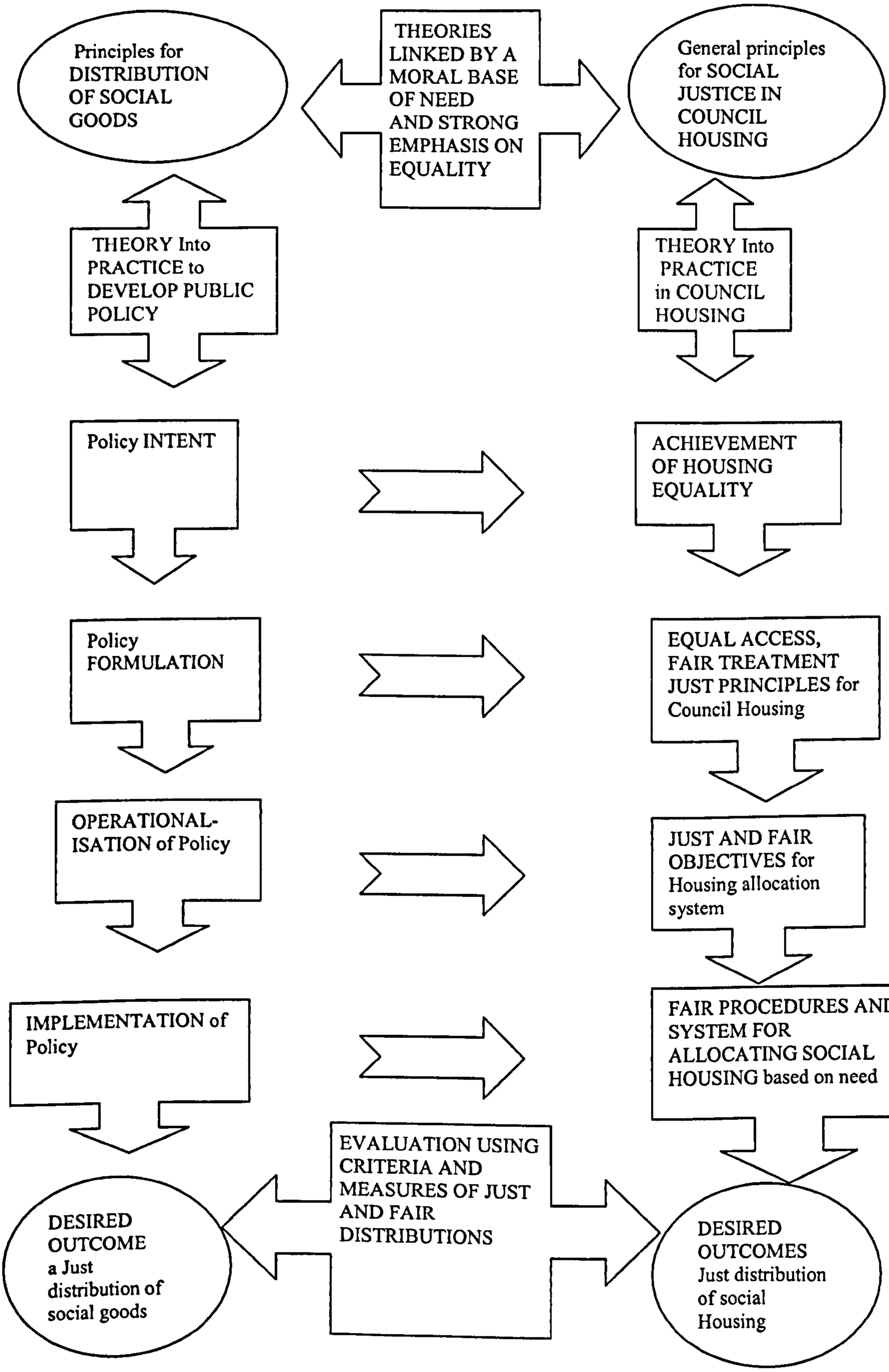
> "Local authority allocations policies reflect a range of competing, and sometimes conflicting, objectives. These include meeting housing needs, addressing the preferences of applicants, and local communities, promoting sustainable neighbourhoods and managing housing in an efficient and effective way" (DETR 1998: 1).

In concluding this general overview of allocation policies, the most effective strategy for just policy are those based on universal justice views of fair principles and rules which consider the local demand and supply conditions in housing.

3.9 ALLOCATION POLICY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE FRAMEWORK

This section describes a policy framework for social justice and allocation policy in the late 1990s. It combines basic principles of need and the egalitarian perspectives of justice (in Chapter 2, Table 2.6) with the process of housing policy previously outlined. The framework defines the policy process used to structure the analysis. It will be used to determine how well council housing allocation procedures operate, in terms of social justice. This framework is illustrated in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3 The Policy Process and Application of Egalitarian Views of Social Justice to Council Housing Allocation



The Figure begins with the principles of justice. Both the role of general distributive principles in policy and the relationship of specific principles and procedures to allocation of goods is acknowledged. The framework can be read in two directions. First, moving vertically it shows the application of general theoretical principles of distributing social goods that occurs at various policy stages. Secondly, the horizontal links connect general theoretical principles of social justice to specific process of policy and procedures in allocation.

In the Figure the general and specific principles distributive and allocation policymaking are linked together by a moral framework. The moral framework includes an emphasis on need in determining how goods should be shared (distributions) and the importance of equality in final receipts (outcomes) of social goods. Vertical levels in the diagram represent the five levels of the general policy process: intent, formulation, implementation, outcomes and evaluation.

Each stage can be defined in terms of essential stages in the specific policy process of housing allocation. Thus, there are recognisable interrelationships between the two vertical flows. The general principles should also be reflected in the specific policy processes being developed for the effective rationing of housing and the allocation of properties to applicants.

At the top level of the diagram we see references to general theories of the distribution of social goods relevant to distributive public policies in fields such as housing, social services and education. The model of policy uses council housing as a specific case. For the application of social justice to housing allocation, policy is aligned to theories of social justice that are applicable to social goods generally. The theoretical principles would be a combination of notions of justice, interpreted in legal guidelines for rationing housing to groups, within the allocation system. Thus, in practice, at the next level of the diagram, it would be the council's duty to provide good quality housing at an affordable price, accessible to all residents. Moving down to the next level, the local authority should implement policy to ensure a just and fair housing allocation system to ensure applicant groups have equal chances of gaining similar types of housing.

In this case just principles of distribution or social justice need to operate effectively at each level to produce the desired outcomes, based on the intent of the housing policy to assure housing is fairly allocated to those in need. To assess whether justice has been served or a fair distribution achieved it is necessary to evaluate outcomes of the allocation process using criteria or measures of need based again on general theoretical principles. The two columns in Figure 3.3 show general distributive principles applicable to social goods and the corresponding theories of social justice applicable to allocation policies in the council housing system. These provide the theoretical base from which the allocation process in Tower Hamlets will be analysed.

The framework in Figure 3.3 can be used as an analytical tool in three ways. First, the model serves as a framework from which to develop criteria for justice principles that can be used to analyse housing outcomes (Pettit, 1980: 32-34). Second, the model utilises the differences in views of justice to understand and interpret the aims of housing procedures, particularly, in prioritising needs and implementing specific housing schemes. Finally, the framework usefully combines theory and policy, in a form that can be used to assess deviations from universal notions of justice, in policy contestation at the local level (Smith, 1977: 146-150).

3.10 EFFECT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR OUTCOME OF HOUSING POLICY

This section draws together the elements of council housing, stakeholders, localities and housing management. Discussion will place various aspects of council housing into four interpretations of justice. These concepts are postulated as the results or effects of different housing policies.

The history of council housing has shown that it is possible to argue that justice in social housing has many interpretations. For example according to analysis carried out by Tiesdell and Allmedinger (2001), the Conservative Governments between 1979 and 1995 were preoccupied with producing housing policy that developed ideological notions of social justice following new right thinking. This focused on rolling back involvement of the state in areas such as social housing and emphasising home ownership and individual responsibility for housing. Present policies have evolved

from New Labour thinking in the late 1990s, which has been more concerned with tackling poor conditions in the most deprived estates (Levitas, 1998). Notions of justice are therefore strongly linked to external political ideals. In government policy, the interface of justice is very expansive, affecting different notions of justice in council housing.

I have developed Tiesdell and Allmedinger (2001) analysis to include notions of justice relevant in the research period between 1980 and 1998. This evaluation places various conceptions of justice (identified in Chapter 2) as connected to the wider aims of council housing in government policy. Notions of distributive, procedural, spatial and institutional justice are seen as part of the process of policy implementation for stakeholders in housing. The importance of various aspects of justice are assessed from policy aims and outcomes. This is set out in Table 3.7, which shows a list of policies initiatives in the first column. The second column outlines various affects for local authorities managing council housing. The third column sets out general affects of policies on council tenants. The last four columns are an attempt to make a judgement as to the notion of justice interpreted in the policies. This can be primarily a single perspective or a combination of different perspectives these are determined from distributive, procedural, institutional or spatial notions of justice.

Generally council housing policy has focused on three elements: changes to resources, encouraging the involvement of tenants in their estates and improving housing management (Edwards, 1995). In assessing these types of measures, their effect on council housing provision can be evaluated at different levels. At a procedural level, there were changes in funding mechanisms and administration. Distributive level changes occurred in the size of the sector, as incentives for tenants to buy their homes and policy encouraged council's to diversify stock to other landlords reducing council housing tenure. At an institutional level, the Government and particularly the Conservative Government sought to improve the way council housing was managed. Finally, at the spatial level particular locations were targeted for estate repair and regeneration (Malpass, 1986; Power, 1987; Papps and Smith, 2000).

Table 3.7 Government Housing Initiatives and their Effects on Justice 1980 to 1998

INITIATIVE AND YEAR	KEY POLICY CHANGES FOR RUNNING OF ESTATES FOR LOCAL COUNCILS AS LANDLORDS	IMPACT FOR COUNCIL TENANTS	DJ	PJ	SJ	IJ
1980-87	**Conservative**					
Right to buy	Tenants could buy their homes with discounts, little affect on flats and housing in unpopular areas	Housing quality reduced most houses and ground floor properties bought	✓			
Priority Estates	Targeting of deprived estates, lessons ring-fenced spending and resources for estates	Improved local housing management		✓	✓	✓
Estate Action	Borrowing incentive encouraged to repair stock, established estate based management and tenant involvement, diversify tenure	Improvements in maintenance and repairs		✓		✓
1987-90	**Conservative**					
Tenants Choice	Rights to transfer to alternative landlord	Low uptake by tenants ended in 95		✓		
Housing Action Trusts	Tenants able transfer from LA landlord to HATs who would manage housing	Rejection by tenants no HATs in 80s		✓		✓
Voluntary Transfers	LA to transfer large amounts or all of stock to social landlord with majority tenants approval.	Major shift in the social housing sector	✓	✓		
Estate Action	Continued programme of improvements Overall large amounts to policy	Improvements for particular affect particular estates				✓
1990-94	**Conservative**					
HAT re-launched	LA and tenants able to propose a HAT. Expensive required demolition and new build	Few schemes only 6 set up		✓		✓
Estate Action re-launched 1991-4	Emphasis on larger estates, large number of councils participated	Target large rundown estates			✓	✓
Stock Transfers	Proactive role for councils in voluntary transfers, created local companies to run transferred housing	Affected better quality estates	✓	✓		
City Challenge	Competitive bidding, essential community and partnership element	Local level approach		✓		✓
1995-1998	**Labour**					
Single Regeneration Budget (SRB)	Financing collapsed into 1 fund, removal housing ring fencing, Holistic approach to housing,	Beneficial partnerships & transfers with RSL	✓	✓		✓
Estate Renewal Challenge Fund	Transfer mechanism combined with funding for improvements, Majority vote for transfer still required	Incentive for landlords to take on rundown estates		✓	✓	
Housing assoc. & Social Landlords	Recognise the diversity of landlords in housing sector, also the development of large HA as viable option to LA in sector	Reflection of LA tenants going to HA growth of mix tenure		✓		
Housing Plus	Recognise the role of housing in preventing and tackling social exclusion and other socio-economic problems on housing estates	A bonus for the community, help in job, education, social and business projects	✓			✓

DJ= Distributive Justice, SJ= Spatial Justice PJ=, Procedural Justice, IJ= Institutional Justice. Source: Adapted from Tiesdell & Allmendinger, 2001.

Government policy to improve council housing estates and housing management over the last two decades can be described as being especially important for distributive and procedural justice (Kleineman, 1990). One of the most influential policies was the 'right to buy', allowing renters to become owners. This changed the distribution of households in different types of tenure and created more home ownership. There has also been redistribution of social sector tenants between local authority and the social landlord tenancies. The increasing concentration of the most disadvantaged social groups in local authority tenancies has implications for distributive social justice (Burrows and Rhodes, 2000).

Procedural justice may also be affected by policy that seeks to involve all the stakeholders of housing in the decision making. Traditionally tenants were less involved in the development of policy and in seeking particular types of housing. Waiting their turn on registers for allocated housing, choices were initially made by the housing department. Decisions made by prospective tenants often confirmed that accommodation was suitable, thereby legitimising choices already made by housing officials. Research showed that properties received by applicants were part of a process that included tenant behaviour. Tenants engaged in certain actions such as rejecting unsuitable offers or waiting longer were more effective in gaining their preferences including better properties which also impacts on distributive justice (Clapham and Kintrea, 1986: 63-65).

Policy that seeks to provide a more active role for tenants and potential tenants widens the participation in the process. Principles of procedural justice may be satisfied if the process becomes more inclusive and equal. Tenants power is more visible, when housing manager participate in actively encouraging tenant involvement. In this way, compulsory consultation can challenge top down housing management styles in deprived areas (Caincross et al., 1994). These types of policies seek to ensure fairness in the procedures of housing management and the running estates.

This section seeks to assess some general housing initiatives that influenced policies and the operation of allocation systems during the 1980s and 1990s. Concepts of justice extrapolated from earlier discussions of social justice were applied to some

general policy objectives and outcomes of council housing policy. Initially, this analysis provides the foundation for the application of social justice theory to allocation policy, and specifically to allocation procedures and outcomes. In addition, it provides a basic framework between theoretical concepts of social justice in council housing and that observed in allocations. This is substantiated by developing notions of justice in housing allocation and applying this to outcomes for tenants.

3.11 CONCLUSIONS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The policy intent of council housing is to provide (subsidised) housing, of a good standard, to those who are unable to afford their own home. Local authorities as social landlords have a joint role of providing properties with affordable rents but also of managing the housing stock and maintaining housing estates. This is combined with the administrative duties and procedures for allocating housing and ensuring that local priorities are met for new and existing tenants.

Council Housing in the late 1990s had evolved from a central government history that included party rhetoric, political manifestos and many legislative acts of parliaments. These produced successive incremental and some radical changes to council housing building, funding, management and it administration by local authorities.

The discussion of the purpose of council housing, the role of stakeholders and the importance of localities demonstrated that a social justice framework outlined in Chapter 2 can be related to the operation of council housing. Various factors involved in the distributive mechanism of allocation policy suggest that investigations of social justice are important for housing. Social justice in housing is recognised as being a wider and complex phenomenon, connected to housing management and social and economic deprivation at a local, national and international scale. Poor housing in some locations reflects the wider issues of, exclusion, deprivation, health, lifestyle, and incidence of crime and educational attainment. The remainder of the thesis continues these themes with further examples of using housing as an example in applying social justice theory to the rationing of social goods.

The thesis explores some of the issues connected to interpreting the behaviour of stakeholders and outcomes of housing within a justice framework. In particular, they aim to investigate three questions concerned with social justice. The first is to identify just housing procedures for the allocation of housing and which notions are used to conceptualise and implement them. The second explores the roles of different groups in interpreting justice in outcomes. The third examines how the geographical dimension of social justice maybe be observed in housing outcomes. The next Chapter discusses the methods used to undertake these research tasks.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY: A CASE STUDY STRATEGY

"The advancement of man uncompromisingly demands a ceaseless synthesis of ideas, a blending of way of living, a give and take of beliefs, and above all a willingness to believe that the best is yet to be" Dundize Chizinia (Amoah, 1989: 178).

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets out the methods used in the thesis. Section 4.2 introduces the case study strategy as appropriate for the research investigation. The section begins with an outline of the questions posed by this research. It also discusses the rationale that supported the decision to select council housing in Tower Hamlets as the subject of study. Section 4.3 provides an outline of the case study approach taken in this thesis. The section explores a variety of approaches that are employed in collecting and evaluating research data. Several approaches were selected as relevant research techniques, which is explained as the triangulation of research methods.

Triangulation is substantiated by the use of different research techniques in the case studies throughout sections 4.4 to 4.9. These sections explain in detail the choice of various research methods, and appraise their practical application in individual case studies. A short discussion of the limitations of case studies is outlined in section 4.10 with possible alternative methods suggested and rejected. The chapter concludes with the ethical framework of the research, which involves an assessment of the researcher's role in the research process, particularly in gathering and analysing findings.

4.2 THE CASE STUDY STRATEGY

This research aims to evaluate theories of social justice that are relevant to the rationing of social goods. Generally, the objectives of the thesis are to assess justice perspectives that may be implicit or explicit in council housing allocation policy. The research broadly addresses the following questions:

1. How were notions of social justice interpreted through allocation procedure and practice?
2. How were some stakeholders views of justice reflected in policy and outcomes in different localities?
3. What implicit and explicit theories of social justice were inferred from new properties accepted by different groups?
4. How can geographical distributions of newly allocated housing explain the spatial dimensions of justice?

These questions are based on different aspects of social justice linked to council housing allocation. The methodology required a strategy that would evaluate the dimensions of justice set out in Chapter 2 (Table 2.6) and capture stakeholder views. In essence, decisions and actions observed and documented by the allocations system in council housing required investigation. This would involve research components into notions of social justice held by groups and connected to different localities, and evidence of allocation outcomes. In order to collect the breadth of data and information, several research methods were employed. A case study approach was therefore chosen to fulfil these criteria. The arena in which the case study is selected provides the context in which the research themes are investigated, therefore before the detailed discussion of research methods the reasons why Tower Hamlets was chosen is explained.

4.2.1 The Rationale for Tower Hamlets as a Case Study

This section justifies the choice of Tower Hamlets as the case study with an introduction to the characteristics of the local authority. The borough is geographically located in Inner London in an area traditionally known as the 'East End'. This has a long history of poor housing conditions, deprivation and settlement by immigrant populations (LBTH, Planning 1984; Corporate Policy, 1993: Policy and Equalities, 1996). In addition the 1991 census showed that Tower Hamlets had distinct housing features. At the time, the borough contained a large council housing sector and one of the highest percentages of households renting from a local authority (LRC, 1995).

Micro and macro political, economic and social factors affected Tower Hamlets during the 1980s providing an interesting context from which to study social justice. In 1987 the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) imposed through the High Court, a Non Discrimination Notice (NDN) on the council's housing department. The impetus for the five year NDN stemmed from several years of complaints and dissatisfaction with access to housing and the quality of housing allocated to certain groups. Engagement in the debate on council housing involved different interests and a wide spectrum of stakeholders such as central and local government, community groups and academics. Issues of concern included the amount, quality, and organisation of housing the borough (discussed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6). To comply with the NDN, the housing department reviewed its policies and procedures, re-trained staff and began monitoring housing allocations.

At the same time as the NDN, the council had decentralised governance with seven autonomous Neighbourhoods each with their own housing department. These mini housing departments set their own priorities and policies based on their interpretation of housing needs appropriate to their locality. A central housing department also existed which, took the lead role in co-ordinating NDN response[24]. Although Tower Hamlets decentralised housing into seven areas, this structure of governance was not legally recognised outside Tower Hamlets, where the borough as a whole was recognised. The completion of the NDN period in 1992 and the return to power of Labour in 1994 has recentralised the governance and structure of housing in the borough. However, the disparity between localities still existed at the time this study was developed. These background characteristics of housing in the borough were developed into the following rationale that justified Tower Hamlets as the subject of the study.

First social housing was crucial to the borough. There was high demand for council housing due to low incomes and the costs of private renting and buying. The borough had a large social housing stock and access to social housing was essential for local residents. Second, social justice as an emerging issue of interest was developing.

---

[24] The centre had a co-ordinating role as power was fully devolved to the seven neighbourhoods, their work was very much administrative based for example analysing housing monitoring figures for the seven localities.

Housing was a consistent topic on the political agenda. There had already been open debates and very public attempts to prioritise housing needs and just outcomes in Tower Hamlets. This debate was extensive, involving many different stakeholders within the local council, community and significantly beyond in society. The CRE had already pointed out issues of racial justice prompting legal action about housing allocation (CRE, 1988). These factors made social justice and council housing allocation especially significant to the 'moral communities'[25] of the borough. This is aligned to views in Moral Geography that groups in different areas have particular moral principles and that justice is connected to specific locations (Smith 1998: 9).

Third, Tower Hamlets had a unique governance structure and this impacted on the operation of housing activities in the borough. This enabled a study of how decentralised housing influenced the operation of social justice. Issues such as the organisation of the housing department, the changing relationships between centralised and devolved structures were different from other London local authorities. This allowed a rare opportunity to study the association between institutional factors and social justice in one organisation. Aligned to this were the separate bounded localities that created a study of different locality characteristics within one borough (Lowe, 1992; Lowndes, 1992).

Finally, as a researcher who had previous links with the local authority I was given privileged access to data, information sources and key informants from Tower Hamlets. This was immensely useful to the research and was not publicly available because of its sensitive nature. This provided a greater depth and sophistication to the sources of data and the level of explanatory inferences that would be gained from them. These archival sources and sensitive documents provided unique insight into the working of justice that would have been difficult to obtain in another local authority[26].

---

[25] Particular ethical views or behaviour that can be attributed to races, groups, cultures, organisations etc. in a locality.

[26] This would have required extensive networking and a high level of trust, which would have been difficult to develop going into a highly politicised organisation in a research capacity.

4.3 CASE STUDY APPROACH AND TRIANGULATION OF METHODS

There are advantages to using a case study approach for this research. They are able to produce a microcosm of the subject being observed showing key relationships within a single case that may also be of wider relevance (Hakim, 1987: 10-15; Yin, 1994: 1-17). In this instance, case studies allow the investigation of implicit and or explicit notions of justice in the allocation of housing, to be observed in different localities and time frames in one borough. Research using case studies usually provides rich data enabling good understanding of complex relationships. Robertson and MacLaughlin (1996: 140) suggest that a good case study reveals the relationships between variables.

The use of comparative case studies aims to go beyond description, towards one of more in-depth explanation (Robson, 1993; May, 1997). Robertson and MacLaughlin (1996: 133), in their discussion of a case study approach in research on housing, demonstrated that case studies could be used in different ways to illustrate or explain policy. They suggest that the use of selected case studies can either show the merits and problems of housing policy or they can focus on particular projects, for instance as examples of good or bad practice. This is an important method for researching public policies and is particularly relevant for investigating the implementation of policy (Bailey, 1992). However, case studies also have some limitations, and these are discussed later in the chapter.

At a practical level, I applied the case study approach as an evaluation tool. Davey (1991) expounds the use of case studies in policy evaluation. Critical Instance evaluation identified by Davey (1991: 11) was the most pertinent to this research. This type of evaluation focuses on a single instance or event that highlights important aspects of the subject under study. Davey explain this may be an unusual event which produces change and brings a system into question, or an example of a routine event which demonstrates how a system is working particularly clearly. This study includes examples of both. This approach investigates the case study of NDN in Tower Hamlets and the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme', as examples of how justice operated in the borough.

It is necessary to consider that housing policy, which is a specific policy domain, can influence the research strategy and methods chosen. Each policy domain has different approach to case studies. In council housing Robertson and MacLaughlin (1996: 134-135) suggested six approaches that housing case studies have focused on. Four of these six approaches are useful in explaining the choice of case studies used here. These are best interpreted as focusing on different aspects of housing policy that relate to case studies concerned with the 'Institution', 'Intervention', 'Group' and 'Geographical' levels of policy. Institutional studies examine the practices adopted for a policy by different institutions. At the level of intervention, case studies focus on a single policy and investigate its effects on organisations and groups. Group studies focus on actions and effects of policy for specific groups. Finally studies at the geographic level are interested in the spatial dimension of policy or are used in examining a small area as a proxy for a larger area.

Jensen and Rodgers (2001: 237-239) emphasised that case studies were important because they are inextricably linked to time and space. They argued that time was the most defining approach of a case study. In this research different time periods are associated with different notions of justice connected to localities and governance in Tower Hamlets. Hakim (1987) writes that case studies are important to capture a snapshot of an event. This is relevant for the research reported here; case studies examined events that were specific to a particular time in the history of Tower Hamlets. A case study approach was particularly applicable to the historical nature of the research.

This research has attempted to obtain results from case studies drawn from three different time periods. These are all connected to the Non Discrimination Notice (NDN), issued by the CRE against Tower Hamlets Local Authority in 1989. This was imposed on the Council's housing department by the High Court. The NDN was a legally binding notice ensured that the allocation and treatment of applicants was non-discriminatory. The NDN was an important watershed in the interpretation of social justice for council housing. Using this period as a 'critical instance' from which justice could be assessed, provided the research with a pivotal time from which interpretation of justice could be made. The research takes a historical perspective,

and covers three time periods: before the introduction of the NDN 1984 to 1989; the operation of the NDN 1989 to 1994; and after this period 1995 to 1998. From these time frames, different types of case studies have been drawn:

1. Critical Instances of specific housing policy developments in Tower Hamlets – such as the impact of the NDN, and the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme', illustrate the roles of different stakeholders over the period 1986 to 1994.

2. The impact of allocations policy and practice on different groups of tenants (through the analysis of housing allocations) between 1995 and 1998.

3. Impact of housing outcomes on housing applicants geographically defined population groups (analysis of housing allocations) 1995 to 1998.

Each case study also focuses on a different aspect of justice, which are captured by the different research techniques.

4.3.1 Choice of Research Methods in the Case Studies

Each of these different case studies will involve a range of different methods (Yin, 1994; Stoecker, 1991). Triangulation is the use of different research methods within a single research project (Jary and Jary, 1999: 698). One of the main exponents of using multiple methods in research was Denzin (1988). He explained that triangulation could be achieved through different informants, participants, methods, or investigations. This strategy has two clear advantages over the use of only a single method. The main objective of triangulation is to reduce biases that may occur if only one research technique were used in a project (Sieber, 1973). It is important to consider that triangulation is not just about different ways of doing research but it is much wider. It goes to a very fundamental level; it represents different ways of seeing and ways of thinking. One should therefore not adopt a naively 'optimistic' view that aggregation of data from different sources and different perspectives of the world will unproblematically add up to produce a more complete picture (Graham, 1997).

This research has made use of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Quantitative methods (such as statistical analysis of allocation records reported here) are broadly based on the philosophy of positivism; this considers that the world can be defined

through laws. The world is ordered and conditions can be replicated and tested as particular laws remain constant. It then follows that the aim of research is to collect data from which can be used to generalise and explain human behaviour. The world is ordered and conditions can be replicated and tested as particular laws remain constant. These techniques can analyse relationships but do not always explain why they occurred, or how they were formed. (Kellar et. al., 1990:120). On the other hand, qualitative methods (represented here by semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis) are founded on ideas that actions are not governed by cause and effect but by rules, which we use to interpret the world. In essence qualitative methods reflect the everyday world, not the conditions or rules which make it possible (May, 1997). This thesis provides evidence of different primary and secondary research methods.

Table 4.1 demonstrates how triangulation has been achieved in the case study approaches. Each row describes individual cases studies. Case study 1, reported in Chapter 5, concerns the impacts of the NDN on council housing policy. This case focuses on the role of different stakeholders, in Tower Hamlets between 1986 to 1992. Case study 2, reported in Chapter 6, concerns impacts within the localities in Tower Hamlets, of local policy interventions during 1984 to 1994. This includes 3 cases; a) housing for the Bangladeshi community between 1984 and 1986; b) the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' during 1986 to 1992; and c) locality area policy from 1990 to 1994. Case study 3, reported in Chapter 7 relates to outcomes of a sample of new tenancies by Tower Hamlets housing department, to different groups of applicants over the period 1995-1998.

Case study 4, reported in Chapter 8 analyses the geographical effects of a sample of new tenancies on the distribution of tenants to different areas of the borough over the period from 1995 to 1998. The second column shows the approach for the study. Each case investigates different aspects of justice from the institution, intervention of stakeholders the impacts of housing on various groups and the geographical aspects of justice. The third column summarises the purpose of the case study and the rationale behind the choice of methods.

Table 4.1 Case Study Approaches and the Triangulation of Methods

CASE (1)	APPROACH (2)	PURPOSE (3)	METHODS (4)
Case Study 1 1986-1992	Institution	Explore organisational response, policy changes and relationships between stakeholders and the CRE following the statutory changes required by the NDN	Interviews and Documents
Case Study 2 1984-1994	Intervention	Impacts of policies for localities community & housing groups, a) Access for Bangladeshi applicants b) 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' c) Moving over housing localities	Interviews and Documents
Case Study 3 1990 – 1994	Group	Impact of allocation policy on groups of applicants	Secondary analysis of allocation data and Interviews
Case Study 4 1995 – 1998	Geographical	Impact of allocation on the geographical distributions of housing	Secondary analysis of records in combination with small area statistics

Case study 1 looked at the institutional response to legal interpretations of justice. Case study 2 emphasises the interventions of stakeholders and their interpretations of justice in Tower Hamlets. In case study 3 the individual cases accentuate the role of various groups in assessing justice for different housing groups, communities and localities. Each case study is developed to reflect different dimensions of justice. The final column illustrates which research techniques were used gather different types of data. Each case study approach used more than one research technique from which to capture information. The historical nature of some research material was an important factor in using several techniques to corroborate data. In conclusion, triangulation in this research was undertaken in a variety of ways. There are four different case study foci relating to various levels of housing policy. Within these case study approaches, triangulation of method provides depth and diversity of information for the research investigations.

The next section discusses the different methods of research. These are an examination of local authority housing information, public documents from sources outside the local authority, key informant interviews, and analysis of a sample of housing allocation records.

4.4 ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC AND RESTRICTED DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL

The objective of the documentary analysis was to obtain written information about different stakeholders and their position concerning debates on social justice in allocation policy. A wide range of documents was used to investigate the research questions.

The research questions concerned institutional interpretations of moral behaviour and this was best deduced from recorded public documents. Documentary evidence was used because it was considered more objective than verbal accounts provided by council employees. Researchers in similar positions wanting an officially agreed version of historical events often choose documents (Scott, 1976). Bryman (1988: 19-21) viewed documentary materiel as containing less bias and this was important in interpreting the historical nature of the information. I made the decision to use official council documents as the major source of public information. They were the primary source of policy information, because they provided a more objective record of events. Washburn in her choice of documentation, also made a similar judgement, preferring to use official records rather than other historical documentary sources (Curtis et al, 2000: 1008).

Local politics played a major role in determining the way that council housing was administered. It was possible that decisions and actions in housing, could be interpreted through political and ideological views connected to Labour and Liberal administrations, which controlled Tower Hamlets in the 1980s and 1990s. The analysis of council housing policy therefore required the review of government reports, local council documents, specialist journals and housing research reports related to council housing in the borough.

Table 4.2 Documentary Evidence Sources Used in the Research

SOURCE	STAKEHOLDERS	TYPES OF DOCUMENTATION
1	Local Authority	Public Documents about Council housing policy 1984-1998 Privileged access Documents about NDN 1988-1994
2	Central Government	Public documents, Central government reports, regulations, and guidelines
3	Commission for Racial Equality	Public Documents, publications about equalities in public policy, privileged access correspondence relating to Formal Investigation and Non Discrimination Notice, 1986-1992.
4	Community Groups	Documents that have links to housing from organisations working in the borough 1984-1998.
5	Local Opinion	Newspaper articles, in national and local papers press Professional journals and academic reports on borough housing 1984-199.8
6	Tenants	Previous research on tenants opinion, tenant association reports, public reports.

Official documents from Tower Hamlets between 1984 and 1998 (see Table 4.2 row 1) provided the main source of evidence on the following three issues:

1. the administrative structure and how the housing department operate;
2. locality differences in allocation housing policy and implementation;
3. evidence of policy change linked to the Non Discrimination Notice in the borough.

The main documentary sources are public documents from the local authority, central government, the CRE and community groups (see Table 4.2 rows 1). An assessment of housing implementation problems in the borough were helped by media reports and the tenant views (see Table 4.2 rows 5 and 6).

Not all documents were publicly available - some were held under restricted access. Extensive use was made of privileged access documents, which included correspondence, legal documentation and archived reports. These provided essential information to new understanding on the context of policy in the borough. Permission to analyse NDN documents and correspondence with the CRE produced vital insights on views and interpretations of justice in procedures and outcomes.

There is also documentary evidence obtained from sources outside the local authority (Table 4.2 rows 2-6). This involved a variety of documents from external stakeholders and community groups that had an interest in justice for council housing in Tower Hamlets. These sources are necessary for several reasons; they provide a broader framework from which to evaluate housing. The documents emphasise the wider concerns of housing on stakeholders outside the council. In addition sources also reflect the importance of interested groups, in distributive justice as expressed by stakeholders in Elster's institutional model of justice (discussed in Chapter 3).

External groups with interest in the council were represented by documents including those produced by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) (Table 4.2 row 3). Their literature is used as evidence throughout the thesis and extensively in Chapter 5. This includes, public documents relating to the issue of the Non Discrimination Notice (NDN) imposed on Tower Hamlets, restricted access documents, correspondence between CRE and the council as well press releases and general CRE publications relating to equality in housing service.

The external view is also given in reports and guidelines on the purpose and procedural framework for housing, which represent central government's dual role both as a stakeholder in housing and as the major funder and regulator. Documentary evidence from the local authority combined with central government guidelines provides this to some extent (Table 4.2 row 2).

Documents did reveal the role of community groups and public opinion in the debate on justice. Evidence of local opinion was gathered from two types of documentation, written media coverage in local and national newspaper, with articles and reports provided by professional journals (Table 4.2 row 5). Newspapers have a different role

in documentary evidence. They mainly inform but in doing so newspaper articles provided a topical and contemporary dimension to the policy review. Newspapers can capture some of the controversy surrounding issues and events in council housing decisions. Public opinion interpreted in headlines reflects a journalistic style that expresses the impacts of policy. In contrast, material from professional and academic journals provides an external, informed discourse, based on acquired knowledge or experience of developing and managing housing. The authors of such publications are specialists and in this position, they can influence their audience. Professional comments and academic debates provided a detached and rational interpretation of policy compared to the more political and emotive dimension provided by newspapers. The documentary evidence from community groups included reports about different aspects of housing in the borough, newsletters and minutes from public meetings. Documentation connected to community groups will have particular biases, as their major role in the borough was to advocate on the behalf of interest groups and to influence the housing agenda in the borough. Their relationship to the council is adversarial in character and this determines the nature of discourse in their documents (Table 4.2 row 4). The case study investigations of policy in Chapter 6 and 7 apply the contrasting characteristic of documents in reviewing policy variation and differentiation in the council.

A systematic method of analysing housing documents was used. This followed Hodder (1994: 710-712) method that analysis should be considered in three specific stages. Initially, identifying the context of material, this related to the knowledge of housing background and policy that was connected to a document. Second, assessing similarities and differences between documents, this involved recognising the purpose and aim of various written materials. Finally, understanding the relevance of documents this was based on the researcher's judgement of the importance of a document to the research questions.

Documents relating to actual tenant views were limited (Table 4.2 row 6). There have been attempts to improve this situation as local authorities have been legally bound to consult with tenants on decisions that affect their housing service (DETR, 1998). However, there was little written information and virtually no examples of the views

of people who are waiting and have not yet received housing in Tower Hamlets (Sampson and Phillps, 1995). Particularly absent are documented views about the allocation system, or evidence of comments on service delivery. Reports on tenant opinion, and satisfaction provided one dimension of the views, but the lack of documents in some way reflected the weak power of housing applicants in the system (LBTH, Isle of Dogs, 1993). The use of triangulation in the research provided other option to seek the views of tenants through interviews.

4.5 STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH TENANTS

It has been argued that views of service users should be obtained when evaluating public goods (Scott, 1976; Stockier, 1991). One of the most common method is the use of opinion surveys, particularly satisfaction surveys. However, tenant opinion has been shown to be a complex area of analysis with difficulties in adequately capturing the views of service users. Satsangi and Kearns' work on the use of tenant surveys expressed doubts that such surveys can be a firm base for tenant's views (Satsangi and Kearns, 1992:317). Despite these criticisms a small survey of the tenant opinion and their housing need was undertaken to ascertain tenant views.

4.5.1 Selecting Methods for Obtaining Tenant Views

To develop an in-depth picture, of the allocation system the views of local authority tenants. The suitability of focus groups to collect information was considered but rejected based on two factors. A general factor was that evidence as shown that socially excluded tenants find it difficult to participate in focus groups (Hoinville and Jowell, 1985; 245). I particularly wanted the views of ethnic minority tenants who were less likely to respond to an invitation to a focus group in the public arena.

Related to this was the fact that some minority populations in Tower Hamlets were suffering from 'consultation fatigue'. The borough had been subject of numerous government initiatives, partnerships and social programmes to improve the high level of deprivation among council tenants, for example Housing Action Trust (Evans and Long, 2000), Single Regeneration Budgets (LBTH, Housing Services, 1996). Housing and Regeneration Community Association (HARCA, 1998). This produced

apathy amongst tenants who were weary of being consulted as a part of the compulsory element of these schemes. This was demonstrated by the local authority's decision to refuse permission for research on certain estates, as consultation processes were taking place. For tenants in this situation their sense of powerlessness could be increased, as they may not personally feel the benefits of such exercises, a problem encountered in earlier health consultation (Evandrou et. al., 1992). This meant that tenants were often disinterested in any type of discussion or interview process.

Meetings with housing management and informally (at a coffee morning) with tenants resulted in the decision to carry out individual questionnaires in tenant homes. I realised that to increase the chance of success and encourage engagement with the interview process the optimum environment was the home. Face to face interviews were the most effective method given the location and population to be surveyed. The rapport gained from a face to face interview provided a more relaxed atmosphere in which respondents would share information (England, 1994). The private nature of some of the questions that were asked of key informant would have proved too confidential in the open public forum of a focus group. Instead 'face to face' interviews were used. A survey was carried out in tenant homes using a structured questionnaire (shown in Appendix A.1).

4.5.2 Selecting the Location and Estate

The sample estate for the tenant interviews was the Coventry Cross East Estate in Bromley ward of the borough. This ward was the second most deprived ward in Tower Hamlets based on 1991 DETR index of local deprivation. The council's poverty profile confirmed that the majority of households suffered multiple deprivation (LBTH, Policy and Equalities, 1996). Census data for 1991 showed that the ward had a racially mixed population with several excluded groups, including minorities, large families and low wage households. Owner occupation was low at 9% as most housing was socially rented in this locality. A socio-economic profile of the estate showed that there were low levels of car ownership, educational attainment and high crime and unemployment rates (LBTH, Housing Services, 1996). Plates 4.1 and 4.2 show photographs of the bleak four storey blocks beside a major arterial road.

Map 4.1 Coventry Cross East, Tower Hamlets Council: Site of Tenant Interviews

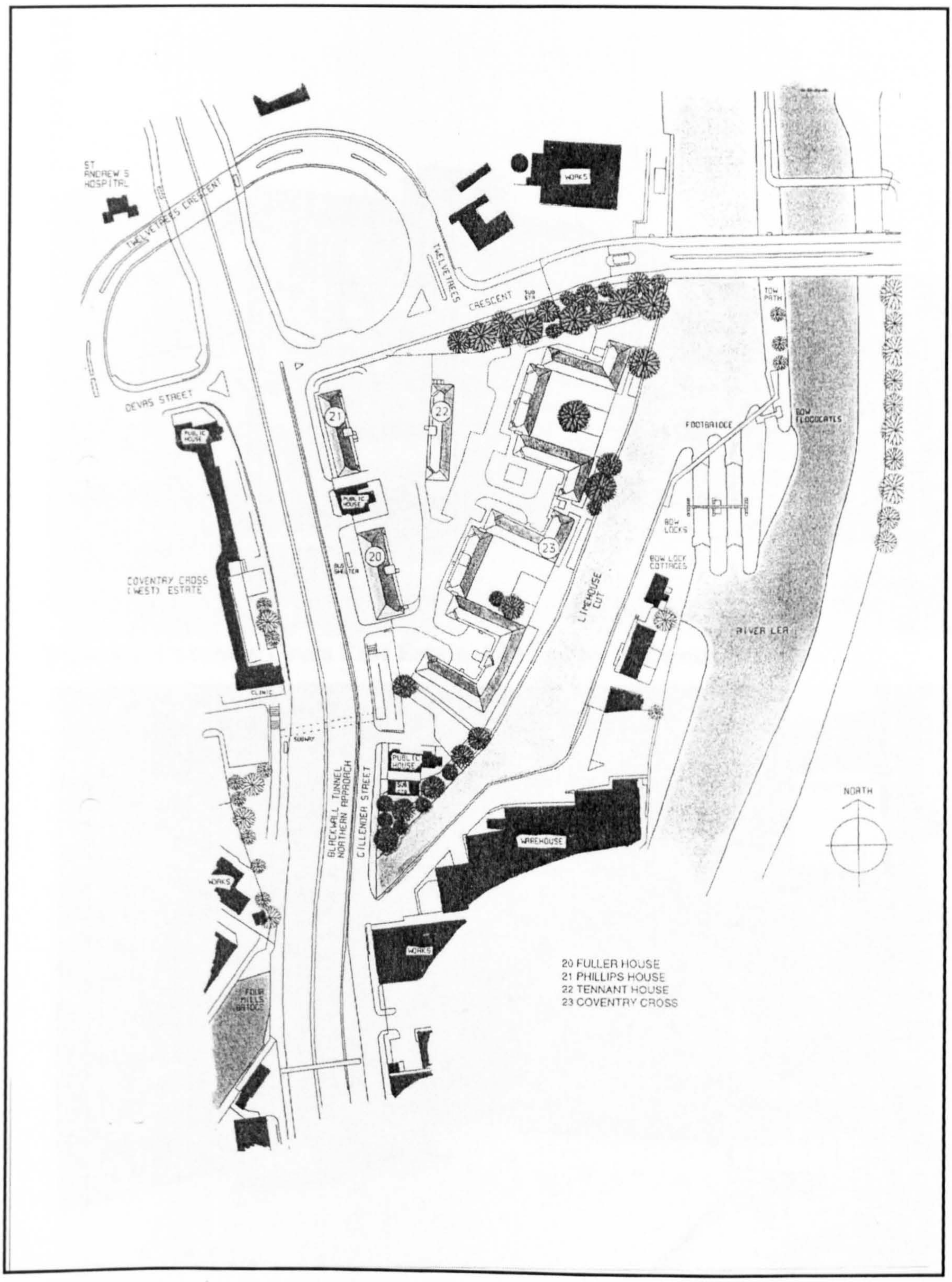
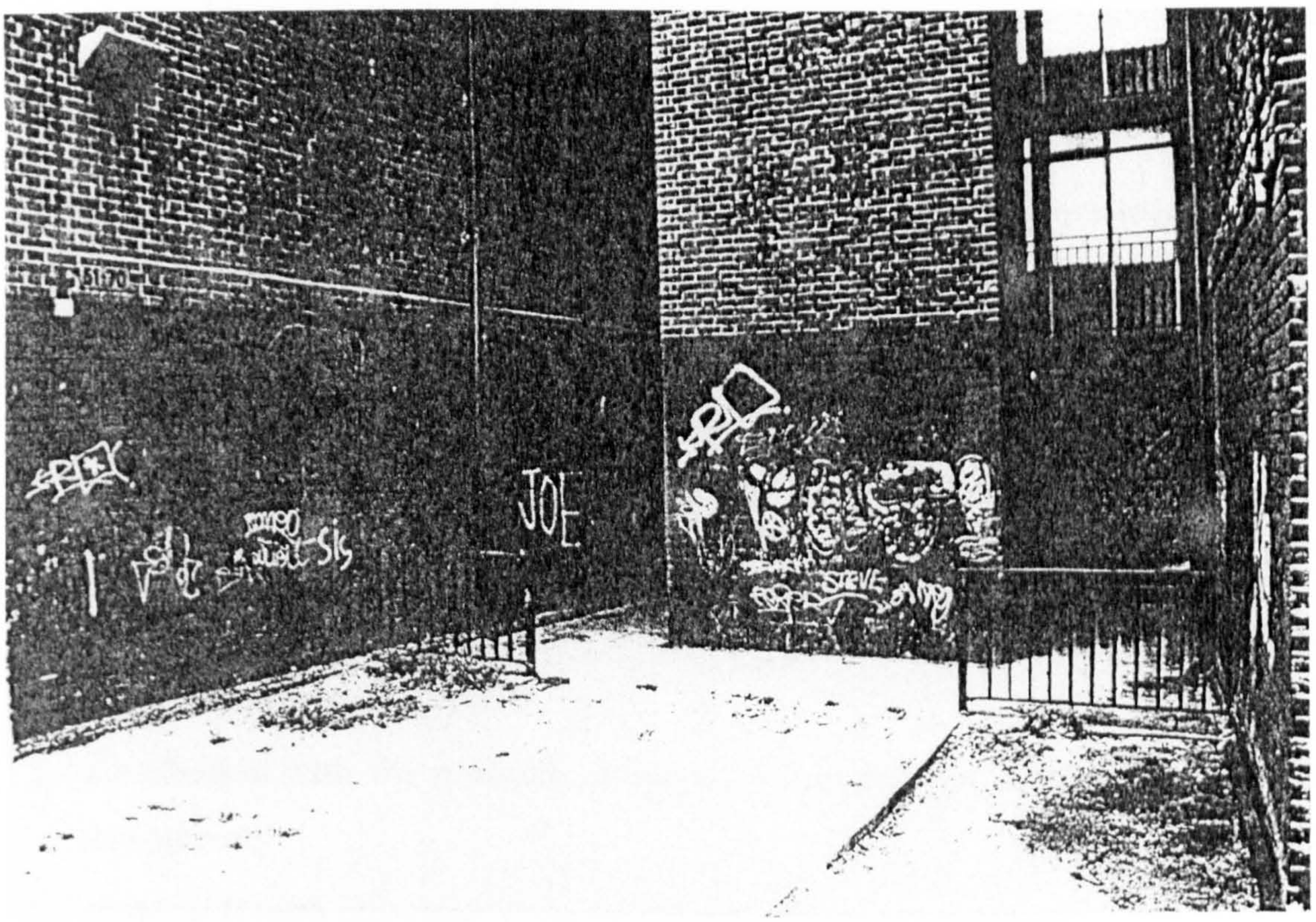


Plate 4.1 Coventry Cross East Estate, Multi-Storey Housing Block

Plate 4.2 Coventry Cross East Estate, Lift Lobby to Housing Block



The estate was isolated and situated near a canal and industrial buildings and in a desolate environment with little recreational space (see Map 4.1). Selection of the Coventry Cross East Estate, a large multi-storey block reflected the poor condition and desperate need for housing in the borough.

4.5.3 The Interview Process

For this research, it was not necessary to ascertain the views of all applicant groups. There were insufficient resources available to undertake a comprehensive survey of tenant views. Views were limited to a small group of applicants focusing on their specific needs and their experiences of council housing. There was also an attempt to illict some general views of the allocation system. Tenants were posted an introductory letter, followed by a reminder letter (a month later) inviting them to make contact for an appointment interview. Preparing for the interviews (including contacting allocation and estate management) was vital for a good response rate (Robson, 1993: 29-30). During interviews information was requested from the head of the household or responsible adult. One questionnaire was filled in for each applicant address (de Vaus, 1991). Interviews were then carried out to obtain an understanding of their ideas related to aspects of their dwelling experiences of the allocation process, particularly their conceptions of their housing need. A structured questionnaire (Appendix A.1) was used that covered the following seven aspects of their accommodation and housing status:

1. **Dwelling Information** on structural condition and repair.
2. **Household structure** details about the age, race and employment patterns of household.
3. **Occupancy information** on the length of residence and initial housing status when they moved to property.
4. **Satisfaction with the property** contained information on current housing status and property
5. **General Health** questions to ascertain health status of household.
6. **Medical Housing on** whether anyone had applied on medical grounds for housing.

7. **Satisfaction with environment an** assessment of the estate and surrounding environs.

The questions were designed with a choice of set answers. The opportunity to give general views about their own housing was recorded in the interviewee's own words at the end of the questionnaire. Questions did not aim to capture the full views of tenants concerning allocations generally but focused on their housing status as decant tenants. As the researcher I undertook questioning and completion of all questionnaires. Responses from the interviews made an important contribution to knowledge about tenant's aspirations in the council housing system. Information also helped in interpreting and identifying some of the aspects of housing quality.

4.6 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS WITH KEY INFORMANTS

Researching council allocation policy required tenant views as well as those within the institution from housing officers. The research also involved six interviews with council officers. The choice of senior officers as key informants was based on their specialist knowledge of different policies and the links this had with the research questions. Lower ranking housing officers provided technical data; for example, information about the working of the allocation system and single regeneration budgets[27]. More importantly, the decision to interview them was also based on their historical knowledge of procedures and events. Officers involved in the decisions making during the Non Discrimination Notice period had knowledge that provided insights into the ethical and moral behaviour used at the time. Supporting documents on 'critical instances' triangulated some of the data (Shafer–Landau, 1997).

Key informant interviews used semi-structured questions to capture information. Several writers' discussion of semi-structured questions provided a basic understanding of formulating semi-structured questions (Hoinville and Jowell, 1985; Moser and Kalton, 1971; Robson, 1993). Questions were centred on the informant's duties and responsibilities, and issues that emerged from an initial analysis of public

[27] For example the monitoring officer had detailed knowledge of the Non Discrimination Notice and monitoring of allocations, the letting manager for knowledge of localised lettings, procedures and stock availability.

and privilege access documents. Six issues were covered in the questions asked of key informants:

1. specific area of work related to housing;
2. any policy difficulties encountered;
3. particular successes in their work/responsibilities;
4. key stakeholder groups they worked with;
5. how they functioned within a decentralised system;
6. difficulties in producing the best outcomes for housing services, lettings or policy.

Interviews were undertaken as a fact-finding exercise, or to contextualise and provide a wider understanding of events or policies. For allocation policy and the rationale of justice operating in the institution between 1984 and 1994, the Director of Housing who held the post from 1991-94, was interviewed in November 1994. This provided information on the role of the central research and compliance with the Non Discrimination Notice. The Principal Monitoring Officer for housing was interviewed in December 1994 to provide information on monitoring in the borough and Non Discrimination Notice compliance. The Legal Housing Officer (solicitor) was interviewed November 1994, on the legal aspects of the Non Discrimination Notice. This included the legal interpretation of social justice and difficulties with compliance for specific policies (e.g. 'Sons and Daughters Scheme', discussed in Chapters 5 and 6).

For post 1994 housing policy, the Central Lettings Officer provided information on the changes to the allocation policy. The Senior Lettings Officer for one locality was interviewed in May 1996. This provided information on lettings procedures including decanting and rehousing of council tenants. Finally, information on the Council's work on the Single Regeneration Budget bids was obtained from a senior officer responsible for Single Regeneration Bids in the Central Housing Office in June 1996.

There were disadvantages with the key informant interviews. The sensitive nature of issues connected to racial discrimination, allocation and the history of justice in the borough caused problems with openness. This combined with the high profile role and specialist knowledge of interviewees made any indirect quote easily traceable to the interviews. This would have resulted in loss of professional integrity and trust both with the organisation and the individual (Stewart and Cash, 1989). In view of these circumstances, I was not able to produce verbatim quotes of information discussed from the interviews. For certain events, corroborating evidence that supported claims was in the public domain, and alternatively these sources could be referenced or quoted. At other times this is not the case, information cannot be divulged, as confidentiality would be breached (de Laine, 2001). The reluctance of key informants to be directly identified reduced the prospect of quoting extensively from interview source. Instead, information was used as context and technical background in assessing organisational actions (Bryman, 1988: 30-9).

In a sense, it could be argued that the interviews with key informants and tenants provided, as similar information to that found in documents. However, the verbal information provided contextual data from which circumstances surrounding actions could be assessed. Although quotes could not be made, inferences made from data are corroborated from the triangulated research strategy, which often produced supporting evidence.

4.7 SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF HOUSING DATA

Secondary analysis was used to analyse statistical information and records from Tower Hamlets housing department. Hakim (1988) defined secondary analysis as being a:

> "further analysis of an existing dataset which represents interpretations, conclusions or knowledge additional to, or different from, those presented in the first report on the whole, and its main results" (Hakim, 1988: 3).

This is an accurate interpretation of how this method was used in this research. Hakim (1988) sets out some very clear advice on using computerised data sets for

secondary analysis and explains some of the disadvantages of this approach. This section on secondary analysis has been based on her ideas and those of Dale et al, (1988: 20-75). The main advantage of using secondary analysis of housing records for this research are that the volume of cases obtained for analysis is far larger than a single person can collect. Second, data collection has already been completed. This removes the problems of researching in an organisation and some of the ethical issues of data collection that may arise. Concerns about confidentiality and anonymity in qualitative and survey research are less evident, reducing ethical difficulties (Dale et al, 1988 :56-60).

There are however specific disadvantages to this method. The first concerns the way that information has been collected and how this may affect the quality of data. Secondly, variables which can be measured from these data may not be able to fully answer or address the questions being investigated by the research. Particularly as variables were designed for other purposes, they may need careful manipulation e.g. collapsing or combining to be useful to the research (Dale et. al, 1988: Chapter 8).

4.7.1 Use of Computerised Housing Records

Secondary analysis is undertaken on the computerised housing dataset obtained from the local authority. Since 1994 Tower Hamlets has been organised into four administrative localities called 'communities. These areas were also used to organise local authority housing services and management. The Lettings section of these local housing departments carried out council housing allocation at the time of the data collection. The dataset from the housing department was based on administrative information of a sample of 3,413 allocation records covering the whole borough. The housing dataset provided a range of cases for applicants who had received accommodation in the first three months (January to March) of the years 1995 to 1998. Information consisted of variables on four characteristics of applicants:

1. their classification for housing allocation purposes;
2. their ethnic group and race;
3. the type of property applicants received;
4. geographical information on where they have moved from and to.

The data were used to investigate and test notions of justice in housing allocation and outcomes. The secondary analysis was designed not to replicate the analysis of the records undertaken by the council, but to analyse the records in a different way. The housing department's evaluation of records was concerned with assessing demand and supply of housing and monitoring the race of applicants. They produced regular monitoring reports of this analysis (LBTH, Housing Services, 1995; 1996b; 1997; 1998). The secondary analysis of the dataset presented here focuses on the research questions that concerned properties applicants received, and the effects of allocations on the geographical characteristics of the borough.

There are fourteen variables in the sample dataset. These can be categorised into four data types; personal, housing status, geographical and property. The variable categories are set out in Appendix Table A.2. Information about an applicant's personal data is contained in two variables race and ethnicity. Housing data was assessed from variables containing details about tenancy and housing status. Geographical data was derived from housing areas. Structural aspects of dwellings provide property data. The sample data were refined for secondary analysis purposes and a measure of quality of the housing allocated was derived.

4.7.2 Constraints of Sample Period

There are three constraints to be considered in using the sample dataset from the housing records. These are the sample period, the data quality and range of variables available, these will be explained in the following discussion. Constraints of sample period are linked to the fact that sampled data is based on the same quarterly period in each consecutive year. The council's housing system for each year is calculated on the financial year April 1st to March 31st. Difficulties of extraction and confidentially issues prevented the release by the housing department of a sample drawn from allocations throughout a full year. Therefore data analysed in Chapter 7 and 8 correspond to information on the last quarter of each year set out in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Data Periods of Sample and Corresponding Council Housing Records

COMPLETE HOUSING FIGURES	YEAR OF ALLOCATION	HOUSING SAMPLE DATA PERIOD
1st April 1994 - 31st March 1995	1995	January - March 1995
1st April 1995 - 31st March 1996	1996	January - March 1996
1st April 1996 - 31st March 1997	1997	January - March 1997
1st April 1997 - 31st March 1998	1998	January - March 1998

Source: LBTH, Housing Services, 1995; 1996b; 1997; 1998.

This places particular constraints on the use of the data. The sample comprises tenancies allocated in the last quarter of each allocations year. This sample period is problematic, as there may be an increase in lettings towards the end of each allocation year. Yearly targets for housing need group have to be achieved by the end of the financial year and lettings may increase as a result.

The type of tenant allocated to housing also appears to vary seasonally. Table 4.4 shows that the sample of applicants housed in the last quarter of each year had a relatively high proportion that were homeless (51%). This is compared with allocations during the full year's records where homeless lettings accounted for 31%. One plausible explanation of this situation are the yearly allocation targets. Targets show that on average, 30% of lettings were made to homeless housing applicants (LBTH, Housing Services, 1994; 1996; 1997; 1998). This policy may result in locality housing departments overcompensating for homeless allocations at this period, to ensure that yearly targets are met. Therefore, the dataset may not be fully representative of all lettings in the year, as the characteristics of the sample are different from that of the full population (Hoinville, 1985; de Vaus, 1990).

Table 4.4 Comparison of Housing Route in Sample and Full Housing Records 1995-98

PERIOD OF LETTING	HOUSING ROUTE	LETTINGS	LETTINGS % TOTAL
Sample Period	Homeless	1,734	50.8%
Sample Period	Transfer	762	22.3%
Sample Period	Waiting	917	26.9%
TOTAL SAMPLE		3,413	**100.0%**
Full year	Homeless	2,885	31.3%
Full year	Transfer	2,908	31.5%
Full year	Waiting	3,432	37.2%
TOTAL RECORDS		9,225	**100.0%**

Source: LBTH, Housing Services, 1995; 1996; 1997; 1998

4.7.3 Data Quality

The lack of control over how data were initially collected or coded, caused some constraints on the use of variables in the sample. This particularly affected the race and ethnic variables, which are voluntary, self assessed questions. The use of self assessed questions on race is debatable and may provide unclear answers, due to lack of consensus by individuals (Anwar, 1990). However, this method had been used for ethnic monitoring and was approved by CRE for NDN purposes, thus using the variable could provide some comparisons.

The size of the 'refused' category in the ethnic classification was the main disadvantage of the dataset. Persons who did not give a response to the ethnic question cannot be properly accounted for and were recorded as 'refused'. In some instances, this category had the second largest number of allocated lettings. The proportion of lettings allocated to 'Asian', 'Black' and 'Other' groups is much smaller. This suggests that the refused category may contain significant amounts of minority applicants. This would mask the full picture of outcomes, as the reliability of the data is compromised to a greater degree for minority groups. Levels of ethnic recording in the data was the established method used by the CRE to assess the validity of analysis made from monitoring records. The CRE advocated a 80% targets for ethnic recording for all Local Authority housing departments (CRE, 1991a).

Table 4.5 shows the ethnic recording levels in Tower Hamlets between 1994/5 and 1998/9. Levels of ethnic recording in the full housing records were used to assess the quality of the sample dataset. The council had started from a very low base, prior to the NDN in 1989 recording covered only 15% of records (LBTH, Housing and Corporate, 1993). Tower Hamlets successfully improved the level of ethnic monitoring to this high level ensuring better accuracy in evaluating allocation policy. For the period of the study this rate has been above 90%, surpassing the CRE recommended level of 80%. The housing department's aim was to maintain high levels of ethnic recording and thus ensure the representative nature of analysis derived from the housing records.

Table 4.5 Level of Ethnic Recording in Housing Records 1994/5 to 1998/9

Tower Hamlets Community Area and %* of Ethnic recording *						
YEAR	BETHNAL GREEN	BOW AND NORTH POPLAR	ISLE OF DOGS	STEPNEY AND WAPPING	HOMELESS SERVICES	AVE LEVEL %
1994/5	90	91	94	91	92	91
1995/6	94	94	95	93	92	95
1996/7	95	96	96	95	85	95
1997/8	95	96	85	96	96	95
1998/9	96	98	98	97	96	97

*% of all applicants for whom ethnicity was recorded.

Source: LBTH, Housing Services, 1995b; 1996b; 1997; 1998; 1999.

Ethnic recording level varies by locality; Table 4.5 illustrates the different levels achieved in each area some fluctuate yearly. The Isle of Dogs locality experienced a particularly low level of recording (85%) in 1997/8. However, average levels of ethnic recording for the borough has a whole increased from 1994/5 to 1998/9 and therefore the reliability of the data in the sample is usually higher by the end of the period studied.

4.7.4 Range of Variables

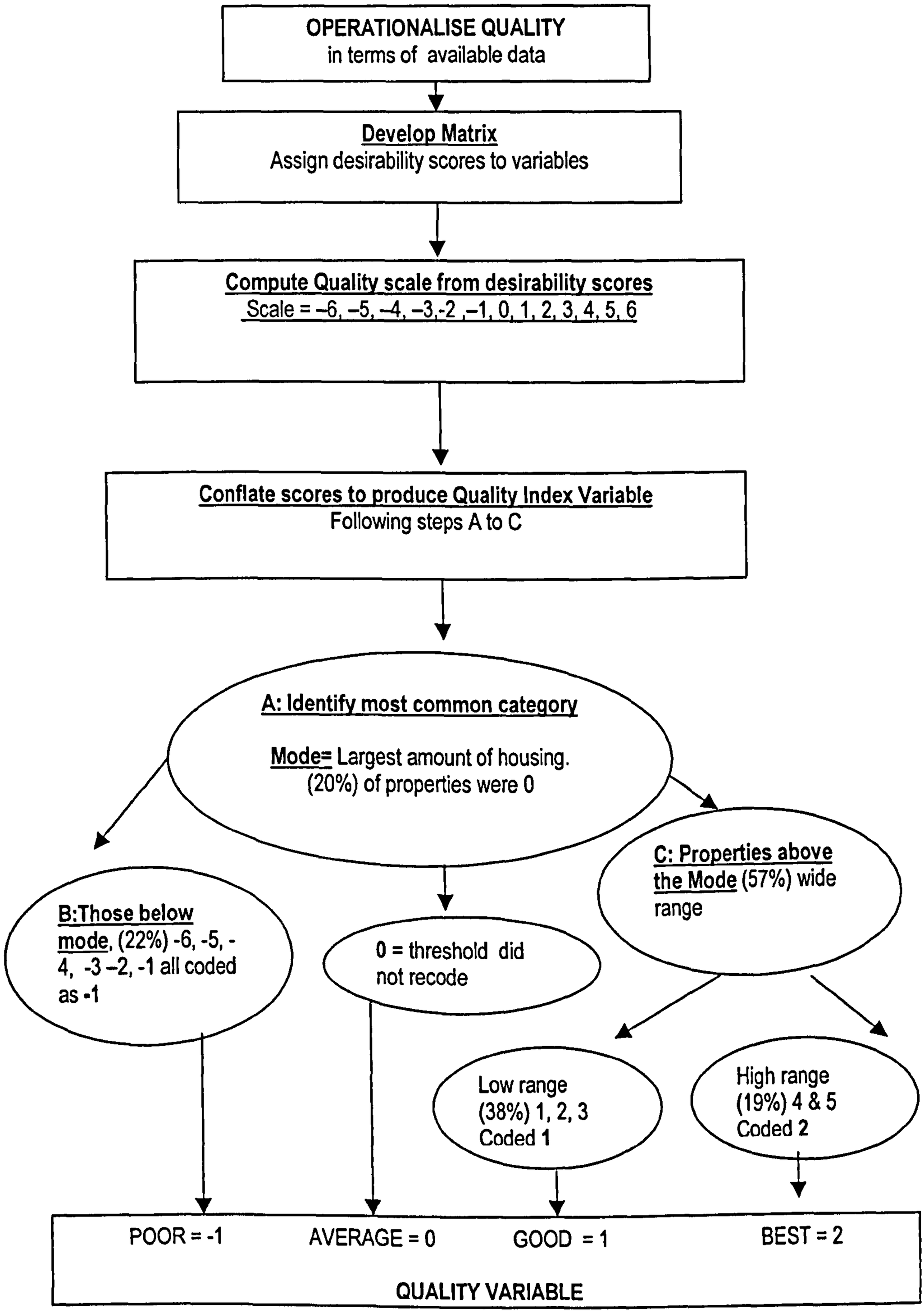
Information in the housing records was based solely on data produced from administrative procedures. Some coding changes introduced in 1996 made it difficult to track certain groups throughout the time series. To overcome this, it was necessary to manipulate the data to create consistently defined categories. Personal data was confined to ethnic group and race. The dataset contained no variables of household structure, income or employment data for applicants. This would have provided more information household on composition and evidence of housing need. The nature of information was important, data in the sample only contained outcomes and therefore only provides evidence of acceptances. No information on applicant choices or refusals was available. For applicants who were homeless no data on their area of origin was available.

4.8 CONSTRUCTING THE QUALITY VARIABLE

In Chapter 7 an analysis of housing data is reported. The results are designed to illustrate how the allocation system distributed housing of varying quality to different groups. A very important task was constructing a variable to represent housing quality. Figure 4.1 illustrates the various stages carried out in this exercise.

The figure provides a simplified overview of the construction of the quality variable. The top of the figure illustrates the process of interpreting the conceptual base from different ideas of quality. Selected variables were assigned desirability scores to develop a quality matrix. The remaining boxes in the figure demonstrate the process of manipulating the selected variables to produce a single indicator of quality. This included developing a quality matrix and conflating this to a quality index. The following section discusses this process in three stages, first interpreting quality, second, developing the quality matrix, and finally conflating the quality variable.

Figure 4.1 Construction of the Quality Variable



4.81 Concept of Quality

The concept of quality developed has two elements; desirability and a measure of quality. In this research, the measure of housing quality is based on the assumptions about the attributes of housing that tenants are likely to find 'desirable'. The term desirability has different dimensions. Desirability depends on a number of features of housing, not merely on standards of construction. You might justify this as analogous to the criteria which influence choice and cost of housing in the private housing market. For council housing, quality mainly relates to types of dwelling and the location. In most circumstances applicants, faced a choice between a house or a flat will choose a house. This was the case with respondents in the tenant questionnaire on the Coventry Cross Estate. What is deemed desirable is not static, it can change over time and, vary according to location and people's perception. When tower blocks were first constructed they were hailed as 'streets in the sky' and were more sought-after than terraced housing. Today the pattern has reversed, despite the fact that they contain basic amenities, these are now less desirable. A questionnaire survey of council housing satisfaction in the Isle of Dogs locality, had found that tenants living in flats and maisonettes were less satisfied with their properties than those living in houses (LBTH, Isle of Dogs, 1993a). This position was taken to be typical of most tenant views.

However, significant factor is that desirability criteria may vary between groups of tenants. Desirability itself is a subjective phenomenon and tenant groups have different ratings of desirability. One way of identifying this is through the use of satisfaction surveys. Studies have shown that Black occupants are more dissatisfied with their housing than their white counterparts (LRC, 1993: 2). The higher dissatisfaction rate held by ethnic minority tenants is a relevant aspect in interpreting housing desirability. It is difficult to decide whether this dissatisfaction is due to poorer properties that most minority tenants occupied, highlighted by Brown (1984) and Modood et.al (1997). Alternatively, it may be that minority tenants perception of satisfaction are different. In Tower Hamlets it is difficult to separate these two interpretations and decide which one is the cogent argument to explain housing desirability for minority groups. Phillips (1986) provided historical evidence of housing desirability in the borough's housing. Her findings noted the popularity of

certain estates and types of housing in the borough. The most desirable estates were of 'better' quality - newer low rise buildings which, were predominantly allocated to applicants who were white. However, Asian applicants and tenants were housed on less desirable estates in poorer – older multi-storey blocks. This evidence linked minorities with poorer properties and thus they tended to be more dissatisfied. These are important considerations in assessing quality and the types of housing groups received reported in Chapters 7 and 8.

The second element of quality involves a calculation of the many factors that contribute to the quality of housing. The local authority using various perspectives had previously developed measures of housing quality. I began by looking at how quality was constructed during the NDN period 1989 to 1992. This involved reviewing ethnic monitoring documents produced for the CRE and interviewing the Principal Monitoring Officer for housing[28]. Evidence showed that financial information on the rateable value of properties was deduced from the age and structure of properties. This was then combined with desirability scores. These were based on the knowledge of housing staff, who were familiar with the popularity of certain locations, estates, housing blocks and the amenities in the area. Properties were assigned a cumulative numerical figure calculated on the attributes of the properties. The scale consisted of low, medium, high and highest quality. An extract from a monitoring reports shows how the council applied the quality scale to council housing:

> "Each dwelling has been given a grading of between 1 and 100 points. The quality points for each dwelling are calculated by reinterpreting data already held on the rent assessment files with other factors such as floor level. These are combined to produce grading between 1 and 100 points" (LBTH, Housing Corporate, 1992a).

However, full records on the development of the methodology for the quality grading system used in these reports was not available. For example there was no record of how grades were determined. Therefore there was insufficient information to allow me to replicate their method. By the mid-1990s, close monitoring of the quality of housing applicants received had ceased. The housing department had also changed

[28] Monitoring housing quality was a NDN requirement, when this lapsed the practice was not continued.

their computerised lettings system after 1992 and information that would have been useful in compiling an index was no longer recorded. The task of maintaining a comprehensive, updated quality grading system was no longer a priority for Tower Hamlets. This would require interdepartmental planning that local housing departments were not prepared to undertake and resources they were unable to commit (as explained in my interview with lettings officers). Previous quality development and evaluation was driven by the CRE recommendations (see Chapter 5), without this external influence, there appeared to be no impetus to carry out such a task.

It was therefore necessary to apply myself to the development of my own measure of quality in assessing notions of justice in housing allocation. This had to consider available sources of data, historical and theoretical facts and be applicable over time. Another requirement was the ability to provide some comparison with the previous quality scale, used in the NDN period. The strategy I used in developing a measure of housing quality was to rank different attributes of council housing in terms of my assessment of desirability and need. This was based on the literature review, data from the questionnaire survey and my own understanding of desirability and satisfaction. My experience of housing in the borough (as a council tenant, and having worked in the housing department) also developed my understandings. It was also necessary to draw on national surveys of housing standards and preferences (DETR, 1998b; ODPM, 2002d).

The work of Thomas (1983) was informative in deciding a methodology, particularly the importance of variables in the index and methods of scaling. Thomas used data from the National Dwelling and Housing Survey to construct an index of housing need in the borough. Selecting variables based on households and assigning scores to them based on the council's housing points system. Points allocated to households produced different levels of housing need. In this way an index of need was constructed. In order to undertake the research I had to develop a similar methodology for a quality indicator that would be appropriate for Tower Hamlets.

4.8.2 Producing the Quality Matrix

The next stage in constructing the quality variable involved selecting appropriate variables to provide the basic elements of quality. The aim of this exercise was to develop a housing quality matrix using variables from the sample housing data set.

Develop Matrix Scores

Amongst the variables in the dataset there was no single variable that could be used as a substitute for quality. The previous discussion had linked desirability with a dimension of quality (de Vaus, 1990; 249-253). It was therefore necessary to re-code and combine several variables to reflect a dimension of desirability. Desirability was used to provide a qualitative dimension to the property elements selected in the index. Property variables were assigned desirability scores between 1 and 5 to assist their usage as indicators as follows:

1. very desirable,
2. desirable
3. neither desirable/undesirable
4. undesirable
5. very undesirable

Once the desirability scale was established the next stage involved deciding how each variable would be scored in constructing an individual indicator of desirability. These contributed to the nature of quality (Thomas, 1983). As most of the variables were based on property features quality would reflect the structure of dwellings and the composition of housing stock. Appendix A.3 sets out desirability scores for the quality matrix based on bedroom size, central heating, floor level, lift and property type.

Bedroom Size

As an indicator, this variable is scored as undesirable for bedsits and neither desirable nor undesirable for one to six bedroom properties. The number of bedrooms is calculated as a neutral measure because bedroom size is directly related to a person's individual housing need. Also, the number of bedrooms allocated to an applicant is

set by statutory criteria and as such the number of bedrooms is not affected by choice but individual circumstances. Bedsits have been coded as undesirable as they do not have a separate sleeping room, as this reduces the privacy and functionality of a dwelling.

Central Heating

Having no central heating is very undesirable. Heating is important for health and well being. Evidence has shown that warm dry housing was generally healthier then cold damp housing (Dunn, 2002). Full central heating is therefore a desirable characteristic of a property. Part central heating is neutral, it is less advantageous than full central heating, but it is preferable to no heating.

Floor Level

Floor level ranges from the basement to the twentieth floor. As an indicator of desirability, the floor of a property varies within the scale of desirability. The general rule is the higher the floor levels the less desirable the property. Ground floor properties scored the highest, as they are most accessible and often have a garden. The third and fourth floors are neutral. Health and housing studies suggest that families with young children should not be housed above the fifth floor (Marsh et. al., 2000; Ambrose, 1996a). The fifth to the ninth are undesirable, at this level there is a heavy reliance on lifts to be able to access dwellings. Satisfaction with accommodation has shown to decrease the higher a person is housed (LRC, 1993a). Connected to the issue of living on higher floors, studies have shown that social isolation and certain illness are more likely to occur at higher floor levels. Therefore, tenth floor and above are scored as very undesirable.

Lift

Having a lift in a property is an important feature, it provides for the convenient transportation within a dwelling and easier access to tenants home. The existence of a lift is scored desirable for properties above ground level.

Plate 4.3 Multi-Storey Flats: Lift, Full Heating

Plate 4.4 Tower Block: Lifts, Full Heating

Plate 4.5 Maisonette: No lift, Full heating

Source: Photographs taken by Researcher in Tower Hamlets, June 2001

Property Type

The council has different types of properties available for rent. However, the majority of council housing in Tower Hamlets is purpose built flats - about 80% of stock (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1994). Therefore the majority of properties allocated will be flats, these are scored as neutral. Plates 4.3 and 4.4 show, the variation in flats scored as neutral. A maisonette, which shares characteristics of both a house and a flat, is more desirable than flat, and in this case is scored higher. Within the quality matrix, structural features of lifts and central heating are used to differentiate the desirability between the same types of properties. Plate 4.5 a typical maisonette block, would have a lower overall score than a maisonette block that contained a communal lift.

Houses are the most desirable properties, this is confirmed in a very desirable score. Within the dataset houses are classified as; bungalows, semi-detached or terraced. The local authority also has specialist housing for the elderly and sheltered accommodation for vulnerable groups. A purpose built elderly flat is scored as neutral. Where an elderly flat is supervised by a warden or is within a sheltered complex, this is considered value-added feature and is therefore given a higher score as desirable. After the desirability scores were assigned to variables, scores were added for each record. These produced an extended 'quality index'.

Stage 3 Conflate Quality Matrix to Quality Indicator

The computing of all these scores produced a variable which summarised the combined score of each property; a 'quality index'. This was a 12 point scale with the poorest properties scoring -6 and the best properties scoring +5 in the matrix. The scale is set out in Table 4.6 showing variation in the range of quality and some clustering of scores. The numbers of properties scoring each point on the scale was in a wide range and the complete scale was therefore too complex for the analysis intended. The quality scale variable was therefore converted to a quality index with a reduced number of categories and more even distribution of allocations in each category. Each of the twelve points on the quality scale was indexed to a simple numerical scale with values of –1, 0, 1, and 2 set out in Table 4.7.

Table 4.6 Quality Index Variable conflated from Quality Scale

QUASCALE		FREQUENCY	Valid Per cent INDEX	Quality INDEX	Valid Per cent SCALE
SCALE	-6.00	4	.1	-1.00	21.8
	-5.00	8	.2	-1.00	21.8
	-4.00	23	.7	-1.00	21.8
	-3.00	62	1.8	-1.00	21.8
	-2.00	152	4.5	-1.00	21.8
	-1.00	484	14.4	-1.00	21.8
	.00	699	20.7	.00	20.7
	1.00	190	5.6	1.00	38.5
	2.00	647	19.2	1.00	38.5
	3.00	461	13.7	1.00	38.5
	4.00	487	14.5	2.00	19.0
	5.00	152	4.5	2.00	19.0
SAMPLE TOTAL		3412	100.0		100.0

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Table 4.7 Categories of Quality Variable

QUALITY		FREQUENCY	VALID PER CENT	CUMULATIVE PER CENT
CATEGORIES	-1=POOR	733	21.8	21.8
	0=AVE	699	20.7	42.5
	1=GOOD	1298	38.5	81.0
	2=BEST	639	19.0	100.0
	SUB TOTAL	3369		
	MISSING	43		
TOTAL RECORDS		3412	100.0	

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Reducing the scale involved first identifying the most common property score, which was zero, this was then used as the starting base for properties (see Figure 4.1). Properties ranking more than zero had 'above average' quality, and this category was divided into two groups, scoring 1 (good) or 2 (best) according to the number of desirable features. Those scoring less than 0, at –1 were scored as below average quality. Table 4.7 shows the distribution of properties according to these categories.

4.8.5 Limits of the Quality Indicator

There are some drawbacks to this scale. Four brief points are outlined. Quality grading schemes are based on common facts in data. The assessment of housing quality is relative, based on typical features of local authority housing in the study area, which has a large number of flats above the 4th floor. The unique characteristics of Tower Hamlets council housing are therefore reflected in the scale. The quality index produced here is weighted toward the structural aspects of housing. For example Thomas (1983) found that by manipulating various variables in the base data and adjusting the weighting of the points system, the housing index could reflect different types of housing need[29]. This demonstrates that choice of variables in constructing an index can influence the concept of 'quality' it represents. Therefore indicators of quality cannot be comprehensive but can only capture particular aspects and thus measures are limited in their use. Generalisations are difficult on this basis and inferences often relate to the particular case being undertaken.

This index is only property based and does not reflect other aspects, such as location, rent and popularity. Certain structural features, for example, purpose built flats are common in Tower Hamlets (as recorded by 1991 census) and this has to considered when evaluating outcomes. For example, the acceptance of a flat graded poor, can be a reflection of the dominant type of property in the housing stock, rather than a link to injustice in the allocation system. The types of calculation available on the quality variable may be restricted by construction. In the analysis, the points on the scale are ordinal rather than numerical, and this affected the choice of statistical methods. This

[29] For example, emphasising points for overcrowding large families were more likely to be in the greatest need whereas lack of amenities emphasised the need of single households; removing points for length of residence effectively reduced the priority points for young and the elderly.

meant that the index could be ordered in terms of priority but calculations within the scale were not possible. Sophisticated statistical testing could not be carried out, on the quality index, therefore the level of analysis for the scale was limited.

4.9 DEVELOPING THE GEOGRAPHICAL DATASET

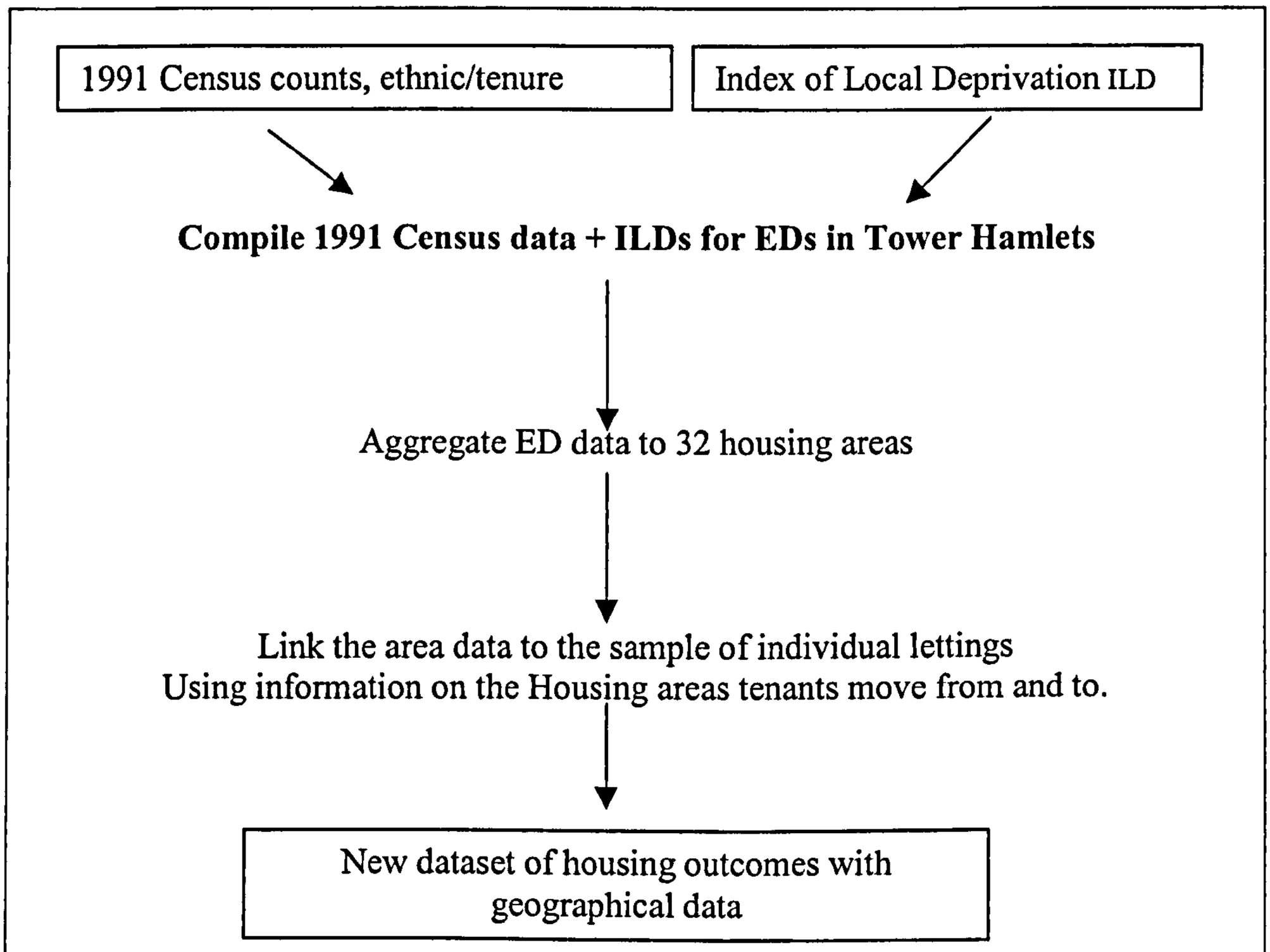
The sample of housing records was also used to investigate housing outcomes in terms of distribution by area. This type of outcome analysis had not been previously undertaken in Tower Hamlets. Historically research had proven that ethnic minority council tenants were allocated housing in poorer areas compared to white tenants (Parker and Dugmore, 1976; Henderson and Karn, 1984; Brown, 1984; Smith, 1989). Phillips (1986) investigated housing location in Tower Hamlets but was limited to areas containing Greater London Council properties. Spatial elements of her study were concerned only with identifying estates rather than the characteristics of the localities. In Tower Hamlets, the CRE had identified allocation to poor quality estates in deprived areas as an element of housing discrimination against Asian applicants (CRE, 1988: 49). Both Phillips (1986) and the CRE (1988: 47) recognised that there was a geographical element to injustice in housing outcomes. However, this was confined to particular estates. My concerns were with the borough as whole and the residential movement among all the localities. In Chapter 2 and 3 I argue that social justice was not just about the type of home but was closely related to its fixed location (Pirie, 1983; Smith, 1994; Harvey, 1996; Somerville, 1998; Taylor, 1998). Following this spatial connection to justice, Chapter 8 reports on a geographical analysis of housing allocation in different localities of the borough.

4.9.1 Developing Housing Areas Locality Dataset

Council housing allocations in terms of residential outcomes was required to evaluate the spatial dimension of justice. This involved assessing conditions in neighbourhoods, other than the quality of specific dwellings. Developing a dataset of council housing received by area deprivation involved three stages of data aggregation and manipulation. This produced several interim data sets (see Figure 4.2).

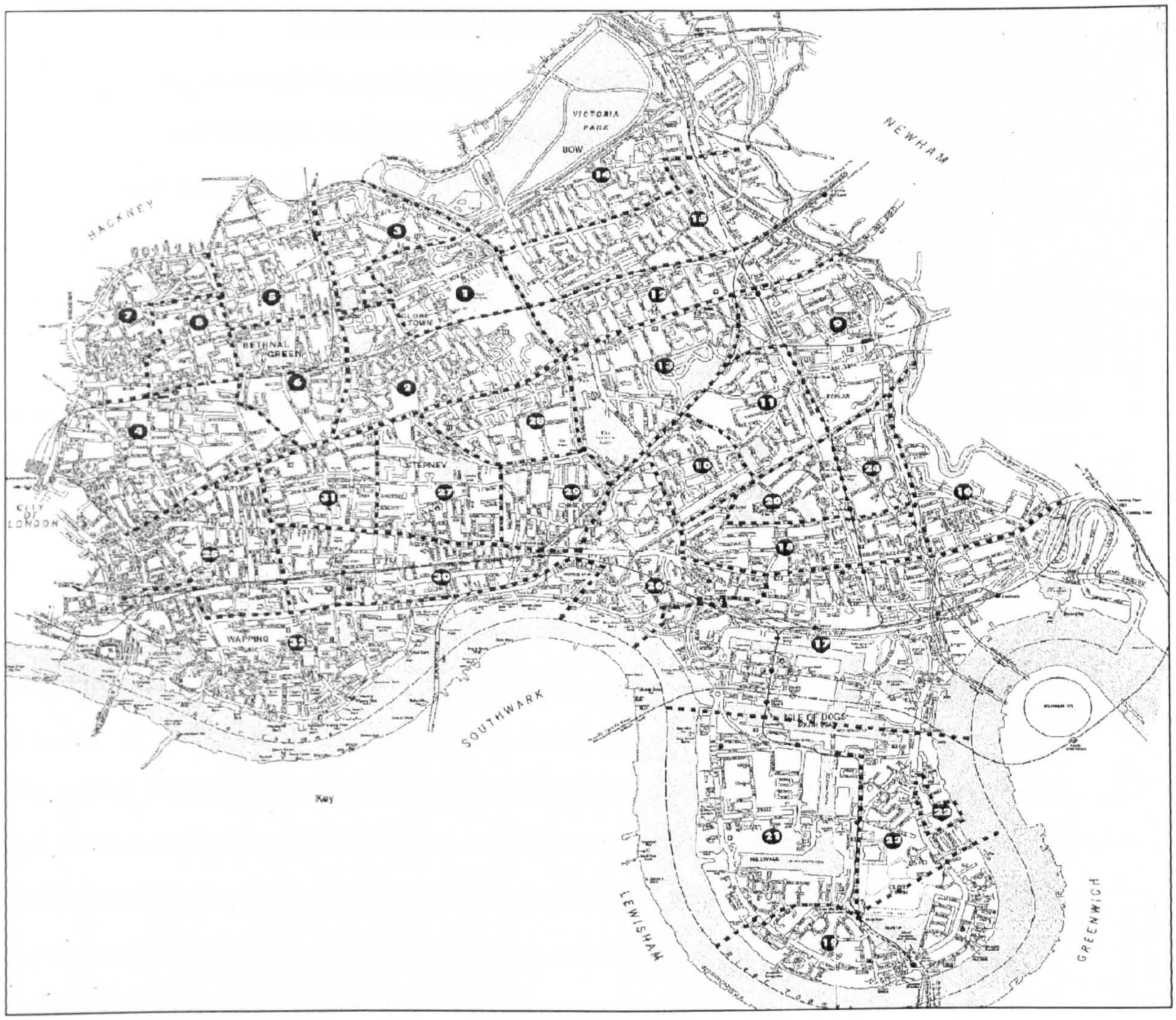
First, an index of social and economic deprivation for Tower Hamlets housing areas was selected. The Index of Local Conditions (ILD) produced by the government (DETR, 1998a) at enumeration district level (ED) was used. This is a composite indicator of local deprivation based on standardised scores for five variables from the 1991 Census. Components consisted of unemployment rate; children in low earning households; households without a car; households lacking basic amenities or in non-permanent accommodation; and households living at a density of more than 1 person per room. The ILD index was chosen because it was able to illustrate the main components of material deprivation.

Figure 4.2 Developing Housing Areas Locality Dataset



The ILD index allowed a method of identifying the level of deprivation in each housing area in the borough. In addition, indicators of the housing tenure, housing amenities and ethnic status of the population in local housing areas were required to contextualise the data.

Map 4.2 Tower Hamlets 32 Council Housing Areas, 1998
Source: LBTH Housing Services, 1997



Map Ref	Housing Area	Map Ref	Housing Area	Map Ref	Housing Area
1	Globetown North	12	Malmesbury	23	Cubitt Town
2	Globetown South. & Bancroft TMO	13	Mile End	24	Teviot
3	St James	14	Old Ford	25	Whitechapel
4	Spitalfields	15	Roman & Bow HAT*	26	Limehouse
5	Bethnal Green North	16	Aberfeldy	27	Stepney Green
6	Bethnal Green South	17	Blackwell	28	St Dunstans North
7	Weavers North	18	Chrisp St & Lansbury TMO**	29	St Dunstans South
8	Weavers South	19	Island Gardens	30	Shadwell
9	Bromley	20	Lansbury	31	Sidney Street
10	Burdett	21	Millwall	32	Wapping & Stephen
11	Bow Common	22	Samuda		

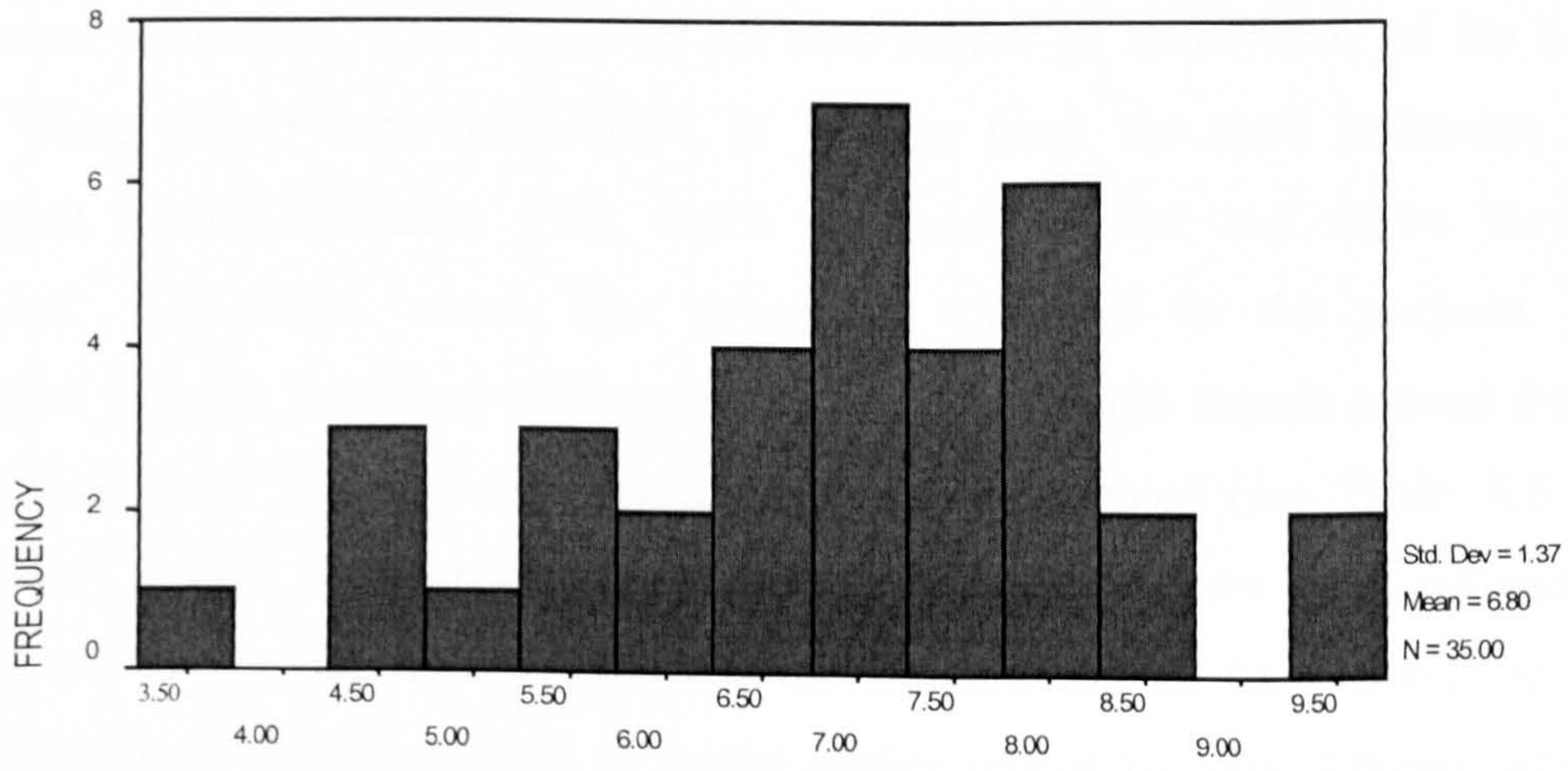
* Housing Action Trust, ** Tenant Management Organisation, specific estates within main Housing Areas

Census data for groups of EDs were used to produce counts of the numbers of households in different types of housing tenure. This represented the level of council housing in each area. The relative numbers of households in accommodation lacking central heating assisted in estimating the quality of housing in the housing areas. Numbers of households in each of the main ethnic groups (White, Bangladeshis, African and Caribbean) were used to reflect the ethnic concentration.

In Tower Hamlets service delivery was divided into 32 smaller 'housing areas' managed by four housing departments. These localities varied in size covering a single council housing estate or a group of estates set out in Map 4.2. The local housing areas in (Map 4.2) represent aggregates of 1991 census enumeration districts. Each numbered locality was a particular estate area (see Map 4.2 reference table).

A weighted average of the deprivation scores for EDs in each housing area was then calculated, using the population size of EDs as the weighting. This produced an estimate of deprivation for each local housing area. A council poverty report comparing wards on the ILD and other indicators, of health, education, employment and welfare benefits (LBTH Policy and Equality, 1996), showed that wards where social housing was the majority tenure scored higher on levels of deprivation. Figure 4.3 shows a Histogram of the deprivation scores assigned to the 32 housing areas indicating that most areas had high scores.

Figure 4.3 Histogram of deprivation scores for Housing Areas



Source: Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999

Table 4.8 shows the proportions of small area indicators which were also aggregrated to housing areas. The Table illustrates the variance between the minimum and maximum percentage proportions in the characteristics for the housing areas. Table 4.8 shows considerable variability among housing areas in terms of housing amenities, housing tenure and ethnic concentration.

Table 4.8 Variation in characteristics for Tower Hamlet's Housing Profiles

Census Variable	Housing Areas	Minimum %	Maximum %	Mean	Std. Deviation
% White population	32	43	90	79	10.63
% Black population	32	3	13	7	2.44
% Bangladeshi	32	2	49	11	10.78
% Owner Occupied	32	11	45	23	8.45
% Local Authority Housing	32	33	75	59	11.57
% Social Housing	32	41	82	68	11.16
% No Heating/ Hot water	32	4	43	14	8.34

Source: Aggregated data from 1991 census

In the final stage of developing a geographical dataset the area and individual lettings data were combined. This involved the information on deprivation in the housing areas being linked with the sample of lettings from the local authority, which contained records on areas from which applicants moved and where they were rehoused. The SPSS 'match files' procedure was used for this purpose. The combined datasets contained information on the type of area tenants moved from and to, as well as on the type of dwellings they were allocated (see Table A.5 in the Appendix). This is illustrated in Table 4.9 that shows how new lettings were distributed among quartile groups of housing areas, ranked by deprivation. This provided a basis for the analysis of spatial justice related to council house lettings in Chapter 8.

Table 4.9 Quartiles of Deprivation Index for Lettings and Housing Areas

Quartiles	Lettings Outcomes Valid Percent	Housing Areas	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1	501	15	8	22.9	23
2	774	23	9	25.7	49
3	945	28	9	25.7	74
4	1161	34	9	25.7	100
Total	3381	100.	35*	100.0	

*Due to re-organisation 2 additional housing areas names were used.

Source: Locality data set comprising, 1991 Census, ILD and LBTH Housing Data.

4.9.1 Limits of Geographical Data

The analyses reported in Chapter 8 aims to assess outcomes of housing allocations in terms of the characteristics of neighbourhoods where tenancies are allocated. The assumption is that area deprivation will affect perceived 'desirability' of tenancies. There are two main problems in using this type of small area data for spatial analyses (Johnston, 1976; Jarman, 1983; Robinson, 1998). Morphet (1992) state that the use of small area census data will involve a certain amount of statistical error. He argues that aggregation of data across EDs may help to reduce the problem of random statistical variation in small area counts. Inaccuracies of ED data also arise due to 'perturbation' of the data (small manipulations designed to maintain and protect the confidentiality of households at the very local level). The randomisation of data in some smaller EDs ensured that data was anonymous. In this analysis, average, local housing areas in Tower Hamlets comprised about 11 EDs and about 1,960 households. Consequently aggregation may have reduced the impact of such unreliability in ED data. However, a few local housing areas were smaller, and in one case a locality corresponded to just one ED with 174 households.

Deprivation varies by ward. In addition, within the borough certain locations maybe more desirable and as such even though the area as a whole may be deprived, pockets of affluence may make an area desirable. Although this has traditionally been a working class borough, gentrification of some areas has made it quite desirable for some groups. An example is the Docklands area in Tower Hamlets. This has to be considered in making judgements about outcomes in certain 'deprived' areas.

4.10 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section sets out the limitations of a case study strategy. The discussion suggests other data sources and outlines some of the constraints working in a political environment. There are four limitations that affect the use of case studies in the research. First, most case studies evolve around a particular event and in this way they are specific. For this research Tower Hamlets has been selected because of its unique characteristics, as a special case therefore explanations are specific to Tower Hamlets.

Secondly, case study findings and observations are not scientifically representative of conditions within, or external to the case study. This contrasts to random samples where a sample (or case in this analogy) must represent all dimensions of the population (for example, in terms of age, race, gender unemployment) so that extrapolations can accurately reflect what happens in a larger location, population, or organisation. Robertson and MacLaughlin (1996: 140) caution that case studies can be illustrative of wider patterns, but they cannot be described as representative of a specific type. Case study observations are therefore not able to provide broad generalisations on this basis. They however provide valuable understandings, where there are complexities of particular locations, relationships, groups and time.

Third, observations made about evidence in a case study can only explain dimensions of a theory related to that particular case study. Case studies cannot be used to comment on generalisations (Yin, 1994: 15). Tower Hamlets is not typical of English local authorities but it may provide theoretical explanation of relationships that occur elsewhere. Comments or generalisations relating to the contextual issues of the case

study cannot be made or given validity in the same way as theoretical grounded inferences of behaviour.

Finally, the case study approach needs to justify the perspective taken and the observations made. It is impossible to observe everything. Yin (1994) explains that one of the limits of case studies is what he calls the 'logic of design'. This involves carefully working out the scope of the study, and deciding what will be observed. The importance of choosing what can be studied provides constraints to the study.

In an attempt to critically appraise the research methodology, I have made an examination of various other sources of data that may have been useful to enhance the research. Table A.6 in the Appendix gives examples of sources produced by administrative procedures in housing allocation. Table A.6 has three columns showing different sources, reasons for unavailability and a description of how the may have enhanced the research investigation. Four types of data may have added to the research. It would have been useful to have more detail on the early phases of the allocation process, especially on the time spent waiting for an offer of accommodation, and the number of offers applicants refused. More detail on the types of stock in each locality, may have provided a useful comparison between availability and properties actually allocated. Additional data on crime and anti-social behaviour on estates would have enabled greater refinement of the descriptors of localities and socio-economic data. This would have helped to examine interaction of housing and safety between localities. Outside of the interviews with key informants in the authority and the survey of tenants, interviews with informants from other stakeholder groups may have provided deeper insight into their interest in housing in the borough.

There were several reasons preventing the use of these other local authority administrative datasets. The most significant was that the data may not have been recorded in a form that could be presented without breaching confidentially. Second, ownership of data was unclear, some data was not originally collected by the authority so that permission from a third party was required for outside research. This permission was not granted. Finally, some information was not accessible as data

could not be extracted from its original format into a separate coherent dataset for analysis.

The main constraint in undertaking this research has been imposed by the political environment in which the research is undertaken. Local authorities are political organisations and their priorities and accountability to difference stakeholders are influenced by local politics (Hammersley, 1990). The combination of local and racial politics in the issues being researched caused initial difficulties with accessing documents, records and choice of interview candidates. This is a factor identified by other researchers working in a highly politicised policy field (Back and Solomos, 1993). However, the length of time that has passed since the events were current policy has enabled this to be less contentious for my research.

A secondary problem of the political environment is that sometimes, tensions caused by political interests between actors and groups can sometimes change research aims. Cowen and Goulbourne's (1998) work suggest that in this situation the research focus might have to take on a collaborative role to overcome this. This was the case in developing the research methods. Later most of the main actors had left their respective posts or institutions reducing actual participants of the case studies to a minority within these organisations. This decreased the significance of the remaining actors and the chances of adverse political comments from the documentary analysis and housing and geographical case studies.

4.11. ETHICS AND THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCH

This section explains the ethical framework in which research methods and actions were conducted. This includes three components: ethical protocol of the research, the postionality of the researcher and the role of values in the research process. The following discussion describes the various elements of this ethical framework.

4.11.1 Ethical Protocol

The ethical protocol is an important element of a research methodology. Ethics is defined as the particular standards of behaviour followed whilst conducting research.

A universal standard is the code of ethics produced by the British Sociological Association (BSA) (BSA, 2002). The BSA code describes responsible ethical practices and behaviour providing a sound basis for ethical conduct in issues that arise throughout the research process. As I had previously undertaken research in the borough, I was aware of some of the ethical concerns of researching council housing in Tower Hamlets.

Different collection and analysis techniques create different ethical problems and responsibilities for the research.[30] Ethical considerations in using the restricted documents, involved the decision not to make direct quotes to conserve confidentiality. This meant not disclosing detailed information, from sensitive legal documents. In addition, documents and data were only released on the understanding that they were used solely by me for academic purposes. I had to be careful not to abuse the trust given to me by members of the organisation, who facilitated my access to information or gave interviews (de Laine, 2000: 129).

Qualidata is a part of the UK Data Archive (UKDA) which works with the research community to develop a national dataset policy. The organisation offers specialist advice on research management, issues of confidentiality and consent for secondary analysis of data sets. They play an important role advocating informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity for researchers using datasets for secondary analysis. Data used in this thesis follows these codes. For example, whilst dealing with individual records on lettings information was anonymised. Computerised data did not include names or addresses, which were removed by the local authority before submission for research purposes. No applicants could be identified from the findings, as data was categorised by group which, also assisted in the anonymity of individuals.

Conducting interviews ethically is an important part of the research process. A basic factor such as the environment in which the interview takes place and the method of communication are connected to ethical behaviour and the success of an interview.

[30] Problems have to be identified and confronted, to ensure compliance with an expected standard. In July 1994 BSA approved a set of Rules for the Conduct of Enquiries into Complaints against BSA members who do not adhere to an ethical framework in their research practices.

Stuart and Walker's work (1989: 13-35) provided a conceptual framework for understanding some of these ethical complexities. They examined interactions in interviews, arguing that three issues were important to ensure a successful. Techniques include ensuring a common ground between interviewer and interviewee; awareness of the perception between interviewer and interviewees during interviews; and the interviewers communications and opinions.

These three elements provided me with a synthesis of the interview process within the local authority and tenant homes. Common ground was emphasised with each group, my role as both a tenant and officer (described in the next section) helped in this objective. I was clear about what was required, from the participants. This was facilitated by the different types of interview format, semi-structured interviews enabled some discussion, whereas structured questionnaires ensured that particular information was conveyed in the interview process. Opinions were welcomed within the interview structure but only relevant questions were recorded.

All key informant interviews were undertaken at council offices where they worked. Freeing time for interviewees meant sacrificing other time demands, in their busy schedules. This made the prospect of travelling to a neutral site for an interview unpopular. Tenants also felt familiar and comfortable in their homes. Conducting interviews in their own homes rather than a public building, required no travelling, and was preferred. Interviewing excluded groups in their homes, reduced feelings of powerlessness, and aided the rapport between interviewer and participant. Winchester, (1996: 122) cites this as an important element in establishing good ethical behaviour.

Although the research on the Non Discrimination Notice was historical in nature, confidentiality and disclosure was still an important issue for informants. Participants were concerned about confidentiality, as housing was still a strong political issue in the local authority. When interviewing tenants I behaved ethically, explaining that taking part in the survey would not influence their housing situation. At the time, they were in a position of being rehoused. The tenant interviews provided personal information on individual cases, which would not have been obtainable without their own consent. This information was personal and often private in nature. Respondents

were anxious about their housing and felt vulnerable. I explained that the questionnaire was not part of the decant process, nor was it compulsory or advantageous to their housing allocation. My ethical responsibility was not to use this process to give them any information that would be dishonest (Bailey, 2001: 108).

4.11.2 Positionality of the Researcher

The positionalithy of the researcher defines how the geographical researcher observes, and investigates whilst considering their own personal circumstances (differences). In undertaking this research, I have been open to participants about my positionality on various levels, for example past experience of housing, gender and race. As a result, tenants were happy to discuss their housing situation because of my own identity. Prior to undertaking the interviews I participated in a coffee morning to introduce my work (aims of the research) to tenants. The reception I received from potential interviewees was positive, particularly because of my experience of the housing system. My gender as a woman and my membership of a 'minority' ethnic group situated me in an unusual position that proved advantageous (Winchester, 1996: 124). This facilitated the participation of groups who felt their voices were not being heard. I did not have any difficulty entering the homes of Black and Asian tenants to fill in the questionnaire (England, 1994). This enabled knowledge and observations acquired from the case studies to be developed into a reflexive understanding of the research.

My ability to act in a dual capacity as both part of the observed research process and as an outside observer was beneficial to the research. Eliciting co-operation from tenants was therefore relatively easy; all tenants who were contacted agreed to an interview. Tenants were interviewed in their home and I spoke to either the head of household or their representative. No person under 16 was interviewed or asked questions. Prior to visiting participants I wrote to all the occupied addresses on the estate, asking tenants to contact me so that a suitable time could be arranged to visit their homes (BSA, 1982; 2002). Initial contact with tenants before visits did ensure that an English speaking person was available to negotiate the meanings of questions or translate if there were any difficulties. I was able to conduct all the interviews in

English. Some questionnaires were translated into Sylheti (the main written language of the Bangladeshi tenants).

My positionality played a central role in undertaking the interviews particularly those with tenants. In considering my positionality I felt that my knowledge of the housing process both as a tenant, a past officer of the local authority and a member of a tenant association provided me with a unique insight. I did not abuse this position but used this situation to gain access to privilege information, and was able to access tenants who often felt excluded due to their ethnicity. I was able to gain trust from tenants and officers because of my knowledge and familiarity with procedures. I balanced this position with the duty to inform people that I could not help them with their housing situation. These actions are linked to good ethical behaviour previously discussed.

Aligned to my positionality in the research process were also my personal values and moral codes. It was necessary that interpretations were made based on my own beliefs. This enabled the ethical behaviour of research subjects and information gathered, to be interpreted inclusively. Geographers have stressed the importance of a moral framework in undertaking empirical work in different spaces and locations (Bailey, 2001; Sack, 1997). Research that follows such practice aims for a positive and balanced relationship between researcher and subjects. One's own value system must acquire the ability to observe and understand the belief and actions of others, in a complex world of moral and geographical difference (Harvey, 1996; Smith, 2000a).

Undertaking research into any type of moral system exposes one's own beliefs to scrutiny. A researcher's values are part of a delicate balance of understandings in the process of interpreting and considering research findings (Young, 1977). The thesis focuses on moral judgements about questions of social justice and therefore places values at the centre of the research process. Thus, the importance of a belief system that contains justice as an overriding moral value has been a necessity and an important part of my motivation to undertake this work (Smith, 2001).

4.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter has explained the research methodology for this thesis. A case study strategy was chosen to explore various data sources that were triangulated with interviews, documents and secondary analysis of computerised records. Choice of research methods were discussed and techniques examined, with a critique of their uses. Limits of the overall strategy were also outlined. The final section of the methodology described the ethical framework, which outlined the role of ethics, researcher postionality and values in the study. This situated the use of primary and secondary research methods within specific parameters and with certain considerations to others. This methodology is presented as a synthesis of different case studies, which combine research techniques to provide scope and breadth to assess notions of social justice observed through documentary evidence, interviews, and computerised records.

The research findings, in the form of case studies of social justice, are discussed in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. Interpretations of social justice legally and in policy and practice as discussed in Chapter 5. This addresses the following two questions. How policy differences and variations are explained in terms of universal and pluralist ideas of social justice. Second, how governance and organisational structures effect the implementation of social justice for different groups?

Questions about different groups of stakeholders and their role in housing allocation are considered in Chapter 6, exploring stakeholders influence on distribution policies. Two issues of concern relate to the role that stakeholders play in interpreting and influencing housing outcomes for justice. Second, how important are local area characteristics in shaping social justice for localities.

Analysis focuses on different applicant groups and the properties they receive in Chapter 7. The study evaluates two questions connected to housing received by groups. Whether justice is achieved in housing allocated to groups with different types of housing need. It also examines which implicit or explicit theories of social justice are inferred from outcomes for housing groups.

Finally, spatial justice in the allocation of new council tenancies is discussed in Chapter 8, which assesses the geographical dimension of justice. It assesses how geographical distributions of housing explain the spatial dimensions of justice. This considers what effects the allocation policy has on the residential concentrations of the different groups. The various research techniques and methods discussed in this chapter are used to provide arguments for the remainder of the thesis and reporting these findings.

CHAPTER 5

THE NON DISCRIMINATION NOTICE AND UNIVERSAL NOTIONS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

"The equality of races, people or culture has meaning only if we are talking about an equality in law, not an equality in fact." Aime Cesaire (Amoah, 1989: 44).

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the first case study for this research and is presented in two parts. The first part is an outline of the council housing sector in Tower Hamlets in the 1980s and 1990s. This is followed by an introduction to models of allocation applicable to council housing allocation, derived from Elster's (1992) institutional justice framework, discussed in Chapter 2. These sections provide general background on housing characteristics and allocation methods in Tower Hamlets.

The case study section examines the intervention of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) intervention into Tower Hamlets housing department. This resulted in the imposition of a Non Discrimination Notice (NDN) through the High Court in 1987. Compliance and actions arising from the NDN, and changes to allocation methods, are discussed in relation to views of social justice. Evaluation of the case study involves an investigation of the eleven NDN requirements in accordance with social justice principles and Elster's model of allocation. Further analysis uses concepts of justice that are able to assess the NDN's role in improving procedural and distributive justice in housing. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the NDN legacy in administering the allocation of council housing in the borough.

5.2 HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS IN TOWER HAMLETS

This section describes the characteristics of council housing in Tower Hamlets between 1981 and 1998. The period corresponds to the time frames of the case study discussed in this chapter and those in the following three chapters. It also provides general information about council housing supply and demand factors present in the local authority. Analysis uses 1981 and 1991 census data as the base for discussion, with the use of other sources as necessary.

5.2.1 Housing Tenure in Tower Hamlets

Tower Hamlets is one of the 32 local authorities that together with the City of London make up Greater London. It is located to the east of central London in the inner zone of the city. The local authority borders the prosperous City of London to the west, and the Thames to the south. Two less affluent boroughs share their boundaries with Tower Hamlets, these are Hackney and Newham. Housing tenure in Tower Hamlets has an unusual composition. A distinctive feature of the borough is the large proportion of households that are in the social housing sector. In 1981 this was 82% of tenure, reducing to 61% by the time of the 1991 census. Table 5.1 shows the number of properties in the rented sector between 1994 and 1999. The largest increase has been in Housing Association properties whereas the numbers of local authority properties has decreased. A small private rented sector accounted for 7% of tenure in 1991. There has been a significant increase in owner occupation, from 14% in 1981 to 39% in 1991. The local authority has attributed this to 'right to buy' sales and private building in the regenerated Docklands area (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1994: 12).

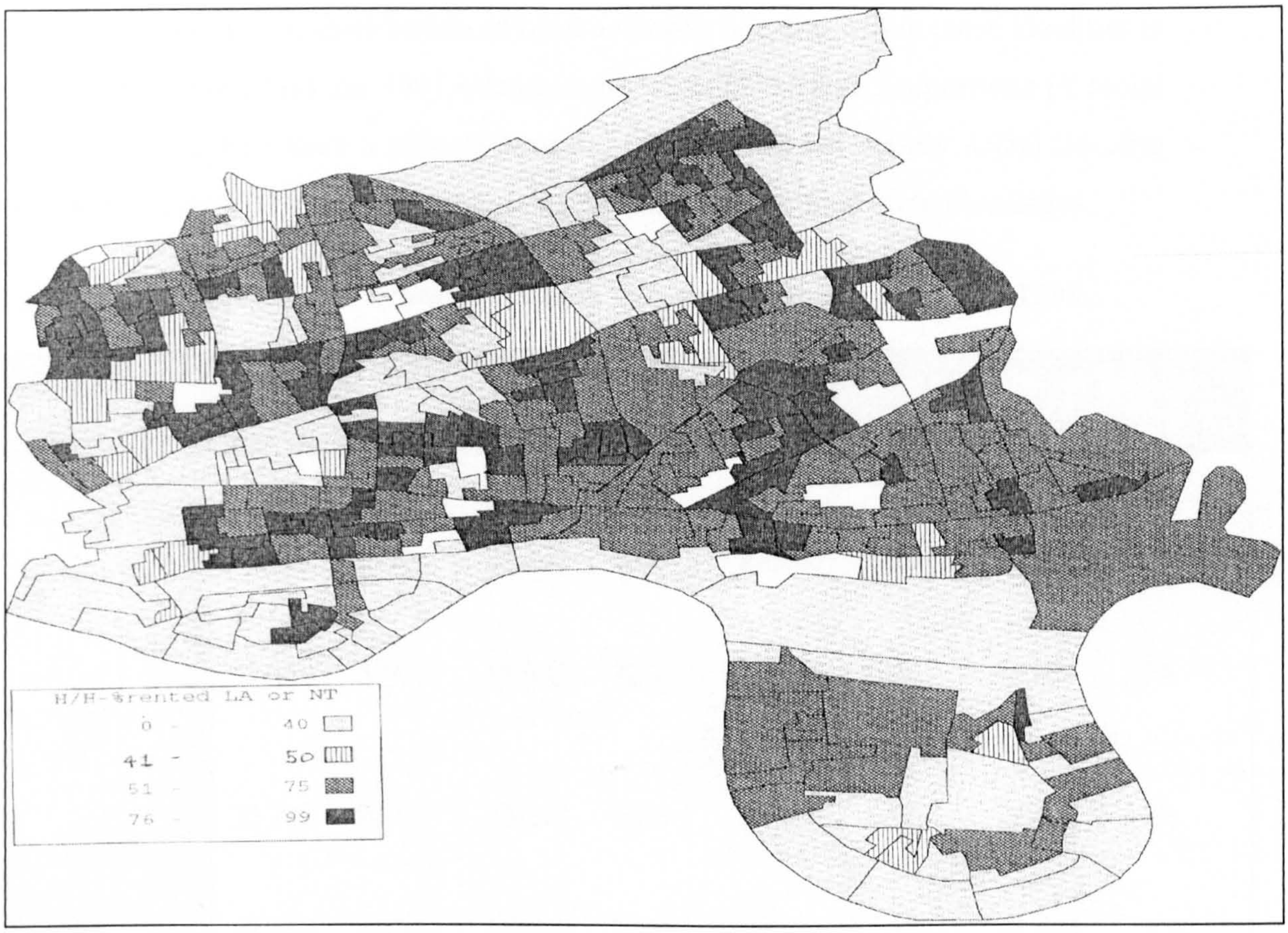
Table 5.1 Properties in the Rented Sector in Tower Hamlets 1994-1999

NUMBER OF PROPERTIES BY TENURE	APRIL 1 1994*	APRIL 1 1996 #	APRIL 1 1997^	APRIL 1 1999 **
LOCAL AUTHORITY	37,887	37,372	37,087	31,170
HOUSING ASSOCIATION	7,039	7,361	7,845	13,848
OTHER PUBLIC	1,760	1,828	1,798	1,741
OTHER PRIVATE SECTOR	26,155	27,405	29,253	31,526
TOTAL PROPERTIES	**72,841**	**73,966**	**75,983**	**78,285**

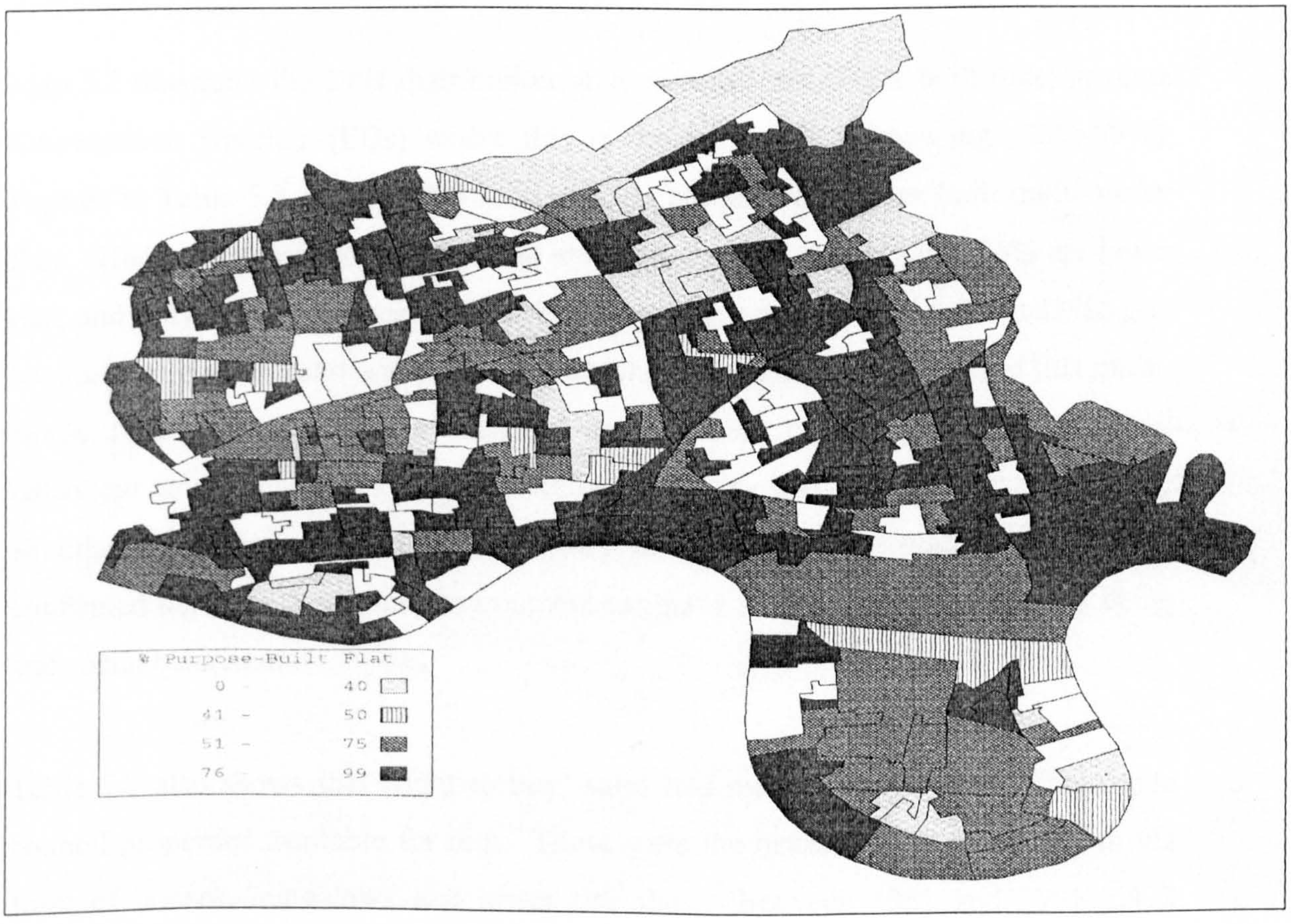
Source: LBTH, Housing Strategy. *1994, #1995/6, ^1997/98, **1998/99.

Housing in Tower Hamlets is further defined by location. In 1986 the borough was divided into seven localities called Neighbourhoods, geographical boundaries were produced by combining census ward boundaries. Later these were amalgamated into four larger areas called Communities. The discussion of housing policy revolves around these neighbourhoods, which are linked to policy and housing practice in the borough. Map 5.1 shows the proportion of local authority owned housing in

Map 5.1 Percent of Households Renting from Tower Hamlets Council, 1991 Census



Map 5.2 Percentage of Purpose Built Flats in Tower Hamlets EDs, Source: 1991 Census



Map 5.1 shows that the distribution of local authority housing within these localities is not uniform. Based on the 1991 census some areas have large proportions of social housing, and others have a mix of tenure. Large areas are mainly social housing estates in the west of the borough covering Stepney and Bethnal Green localities.

Table 5.2 Changes in the Types of Council Property between 1994 and 1999

	APRIL 1 1994*	APRIL 1 1994*%	APRIL 1 1996 #	April 1 1996 *%	APRIL 1 1997	April 1 1997 %	APRIL 1 1999	APRIL 1 1999 %
HOUSE OR BUNGALOW	2,160	6%	2,031	5%	2,009	5%	1,790	6%
FLATS & MAISONETTES TO 5TH FLR	23,628	62%	23,398	63%	22,960	62%	18,556	59%
FLATS & MAISONETTES ABOVE 5TH FLR	12,119	32%	11,943	32%	12,118	33%	10,844	35%
ALL FLATS & MAISONETTES	35,747	94%	35,341	95%	35,078	95%	29,400	94%
TOTAL PROPERTIES	**37,907**	100%	**37372**	100%	**37,087**	100%	**31,190**	100%

Source: LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1994*; 1996#; 1998^.

Map 5.2 illustrates the 1991 distribution of households in purpose built flats; in some Enumeration Districts (EDs) where this is the main type of housing (76%-99%). Figures in Table 5.2 confirm that most council homes are purpose built multi-storey flats. The majority of properties (62%) are taller than six storeys high, 33% are lower rise, and only 5% are houses (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1994). Coleman (1985), in her study of council estates and their relationships to social malaise, argued that multi-storey flats were examples of housing design likely to contribute to anti social behaviour and exclusion. Tower Hamlets authority was selected because of the abundance of purpose built flats in the built environment. Research in the borough confirmed her hypothesis that environment can have a negative impact on well being and social behaviour.

Table 5.2 also shows that 'right to buy' sales had reduced the amount of desirable council properties available for rent. These were the better quality dwellings, in the form of houses, bungalows and lower rise flats. Between 1981 and 1991 3,472

council homes were sold under the 'right to buy' scheme, representing about 25% of the 1981 housing stock (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1994). This had a significant impact on the numbers of houses owned by the council, which had decreased from 2,160 properties in 1994 to 1,790 in 1999. Thus, although the stock of council housing is still large in Tower Hamlets, it contains less houses and lower rise flat properties, reflecting the residualised nature of council stock in the 1990s.

The Housing Investment Programme (HIP) is a statement of local authorities' estimated expenditure to maintain their housing stock. This central government funding mechanism is the main source of finance for councils, apart from rent revenues. In comparison to other London boroughs, Tower Hamlets received less HIP funding in the late 1980s and early 1990s (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1994: 72). This deficit was still being experienced in 1995 where figures showed that Tower Hamlets received less funding per dwelling compared to the neighbouring boroughs of Hackney and Newham (*op.cit.*, 73). Tower Hamlets also fared badly in comparison with London boroughs that had similar patterns of deprivation, such as Lambeth (*op.cit.*, 74). This reduction can be seen as part of central governments' strategy to reduce public spending and choices made by local politicians (Carmichael, 1994: 256-259). For council housing in Tower Hamlets this lower investment reduced the local authority's capacity to maintain stock and plan effectively for the demands of residents.

The borough's own stock condition survey in 1996 identified the authority as having poor quality housing, requiring massive investment (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1996). The age of the properties is a factor in their poor condition, only 15% of the stock was built after 1975[31]. Plate 5.1 shows an example of the type of multi-storey block built after the war and Plate 5.2 a purpose built tower block constructed in the 1960s. The council had carried out very little new building; between 1981 and 1991 only 528 new dwellings were completed (*op.cit.*, 18). New properties in the late 1990s were built through partnership initiatives with social landlords and private developers (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1996). To make suitable housing accessible for some groups the council nominates applicants onto the allocation list for these new properties.

[31]Most of the housing was built between 1945-64 (45%); a quarter (24%) was built between 1965-74 and 16% pre 1945.

Plate 5.1 Flats in a 5 Storey Block, Minerva Estate

Plate 5.2 Flats in a High Rise Tower Block, Cranbrook Estate

Source: Photographs taken by Researcher in Tower Hamlets, June 2001

5.2.3 Population and Housing Demand

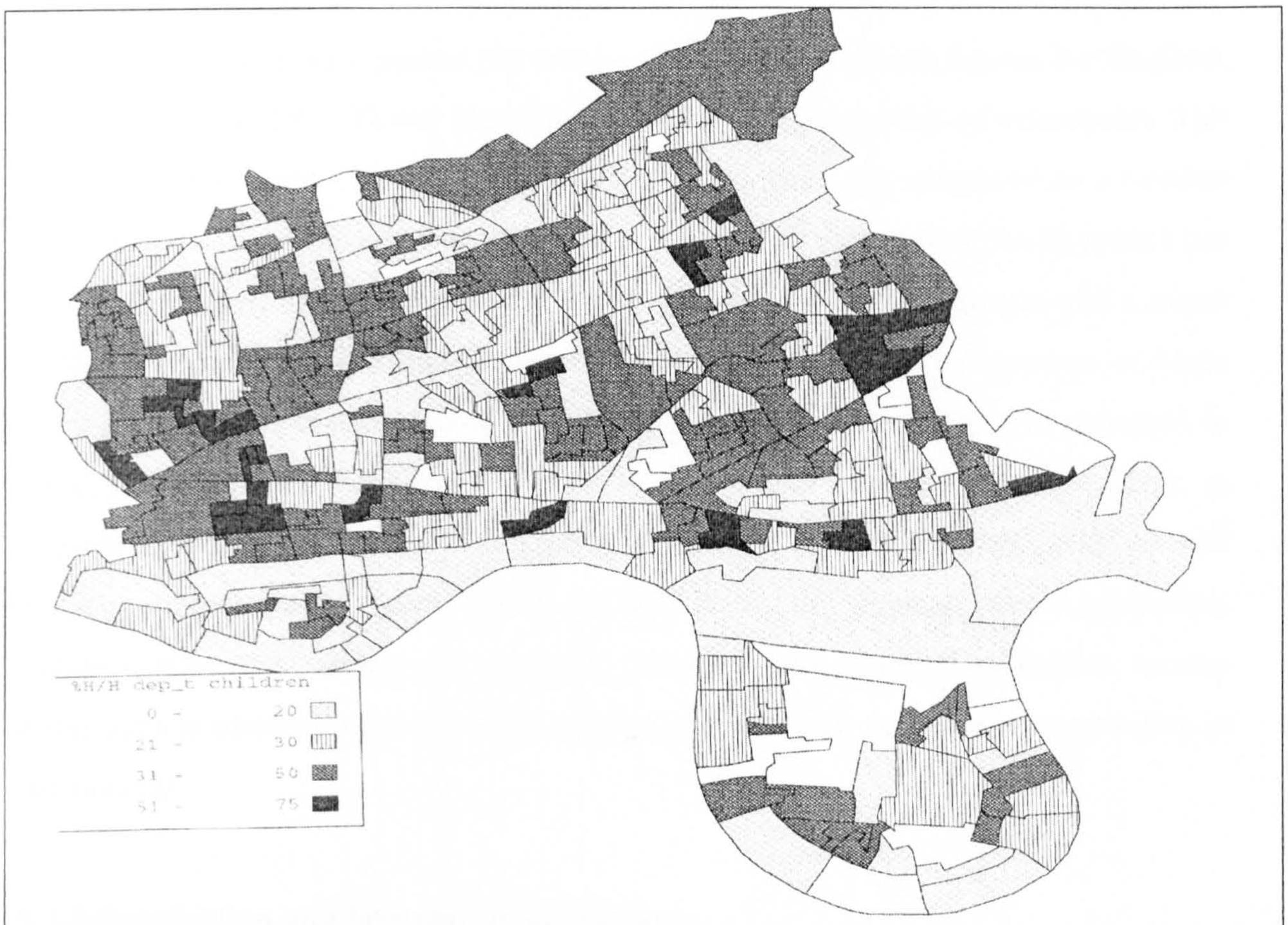
Tower Hamlets was the only local authority in London that experienced a population increase (7.5%) between 1981 and 1991[32] (LBTH, Corporate Policy, 1993). This situation contributes to the council's difficulties in housing residents. In 1993 the borough estimated that 4,600 homes were needed to satisfy housing demands but only 1,419 properties were gained by 2001 (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1996: 11-12). The age composition of the population increases housing demands for family accommodation. In 1991 Tower Hamlets had the second largest number of households with under-fives (16%) in Greater London (Forrest and Gordon, 1993: 25). Illustrating this, Map 5.3 shows the distribution of households with dependent children. The largest concentration of these households was in Spitalfields in Bethnal Green Neighbourhood. A high proportion of dependants in households also contributes to large size of households. This distinct population feature is predicted to be a long-term trend in the borough, placing high demands on large family sized accommodation (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1996: 16).

The demand for large sized accommodation was reflected in the large numbers of housing applications that needed 4 or more bedrooms in the 1990s (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1994; 1996; 1997; 1998). The council had few properties of this size; it therefore used two strategies to overcome this: combining two properties into one large one, or nominating applicants to housing association registers with large sized properties. The local authority still does not have adequate supply or options to meet this growing demand. In 1994, out of 2,699 applicants waiting for 4 bedroom properties only 64 were housed. In 1997 the average projected wait for families requiring 5 bedroom properties was nine years (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1997: 10), demonstrating that the borough's housing stock is rather poorly matched to the requirements of the local population. This makes it more difficult to meet the needs of some council housing applicants.

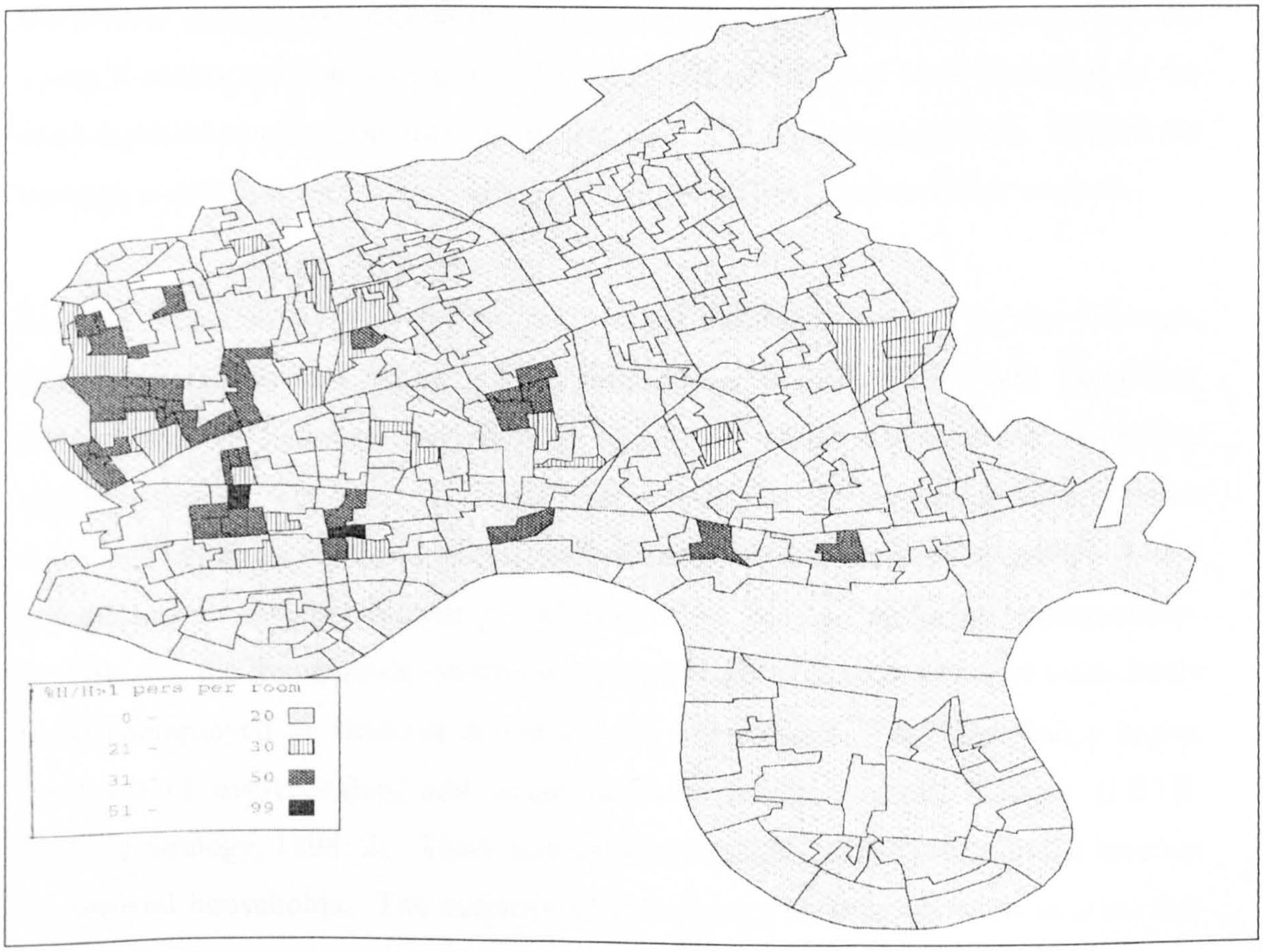
---

[32] The calculation used to record resident population in 1991 is different from that in 1981. Where absent residents were excluded from the count, in 1991 they were estimated. On this basis 1991 population was 161,064, falling to 150,533 on the 1981 calculation.

Map 5.3 Households living with dependent children. Source 1991 Census



Map 5.4 Households living at more than one person per room. Source: 1991 Census



The effect of larger households and the shortage of accommodation for larger families can be seen in the levels of overcrowding in the borough. This is officially defined as a density of more than 1 person per room. According to census figures for England, in both 1981 and 1991 Tower Hamlets had the largest proportion of households with 1.5 persons per room. In 1991, this was 11% of households compared to a London average of 4.1%. Although overcrowding as a universal indicator of social justice has been met by most local authorities, in Tower Hamlets overcrowding was still a major problem in the 1990s (London Research Centre, 1993b: 14). A comparison of Maps 5.3 and 5.4 shows that overcrowding (based on the 1991 Census) was clustered in areas where there are higher proportions of households with dependent children, in Bethnal Green and Stepney neighbourhoods. The borough's supply of council housing cannot easily meet the level and types of demand from applicants. Consequently, the amount of available housing and population factors creates difficulties in meeting basic universal standards that include reducing overcrowding in the borough.

5.2.4 Deprivation and Housing Disadvantage

On several comparative indicators, Tower Hamlets has been classified as deprived. Using Z-scores analysis, one particular ward, Spitalfields, has been classified as the most deprived ward in London both in 1981 and 1991 (Armstrong, 1996). Overall the borough had high scores on unemployment, overcrowding and unskilled workers.

In 1996 Research by Tower Hamlets council examined poverty in the borough, identifying factors and mapping their distribution (LBTH, Policy and Equalities, 1996). Analysis based on geographical data found widespread evidence of poverty and deprivation. The research found high proportions of households with children that were living on welfare benefits, low incomes or had no working adult. These circumstances disproportionately affected the ethnic minority communities. Specifically, the Bangladeshi community where heads of households were more likely to be unemployed or working in lower paid occupations. They also had a higher incidence of overcrowding and larger numbers living in social housing (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1998: 2). There was a clear geographical difference in the location of deprived households. The majority of low-income households were in areas that

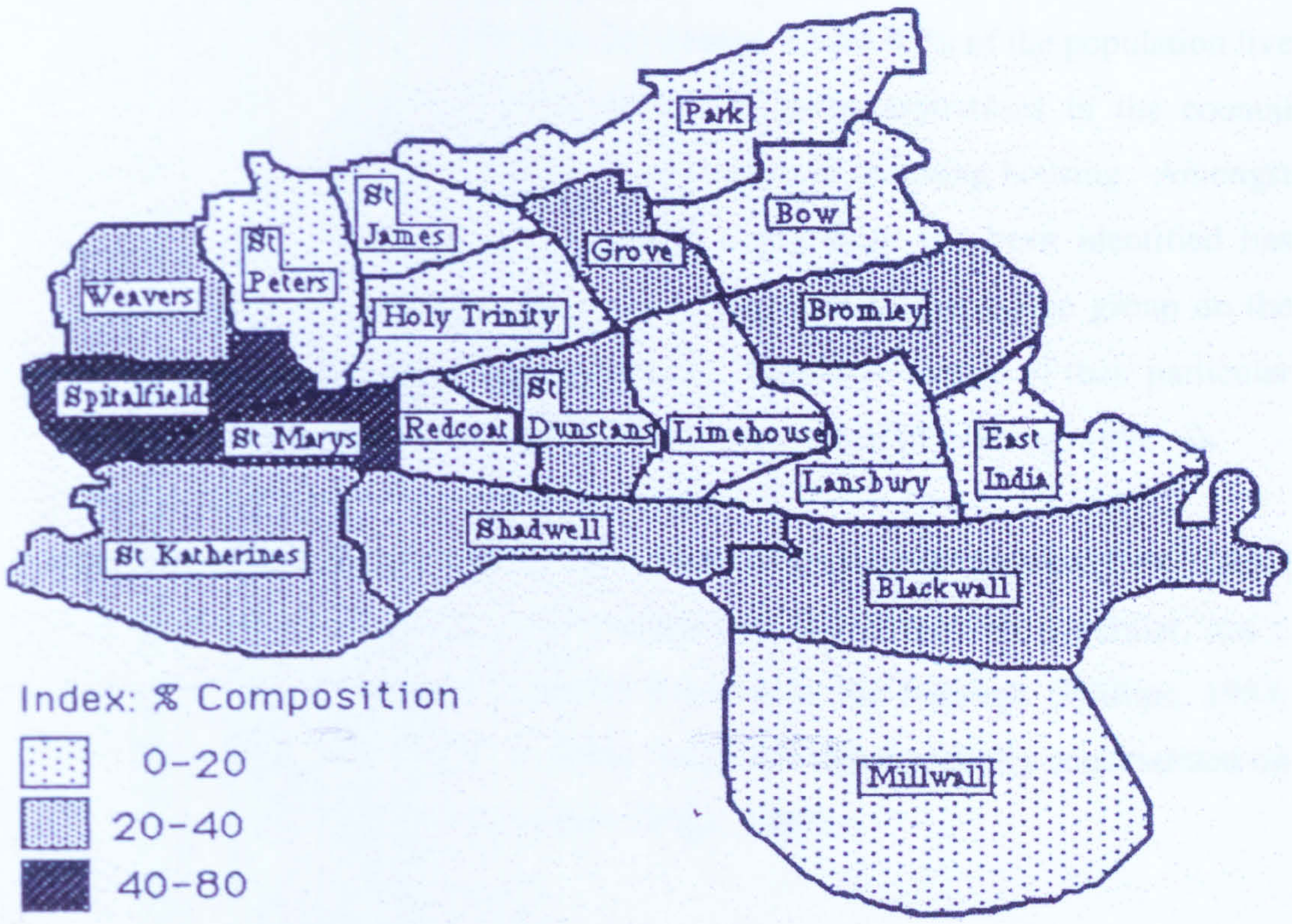
had large proportions of social housing, in Grove in Stepney neighbourhood and Spitalfields in Bethnal Green neighbourhood. High incomes (those earning over £35,000 per annum in 1996) were associated with the regenerated Docklands area of St Katherines, in the Isle of Dogs locality (*op cit.*, 12). The research showed that there was local diversity, with pockets of affluence alongside areas of high welfare dependency and low wage jobs.

Deprivation was associated with particular types of tenure. Most households cannot afford to rent privately, or buy a property. According to the London Research Centre, in 1993 the average weekly cost of renting a bed-sit in London was £58 and £148 for a two bedroomed house (London Research Centre, 1993: 8). In contrast the average council rent was £34.39 per week. By 1996 this was £36.89 whereas renting a one bedroom flat privately was £143.13 a week. Renting large properties in the private sector was beyond most residents because of low incomes (even with welfare benefits). At the time four-bedroom council accommodation cost £57.11 a week, while private sector rent averaged £264.00, more than four times the cost of council housing. The average cost of buying a house in the borough in 1996 was £86,700; the average cost for other London boroughs was £80,200. The high cost of private renting and buying in the borough meant that most residents relied on council housing as their only housing option (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1998: 10).

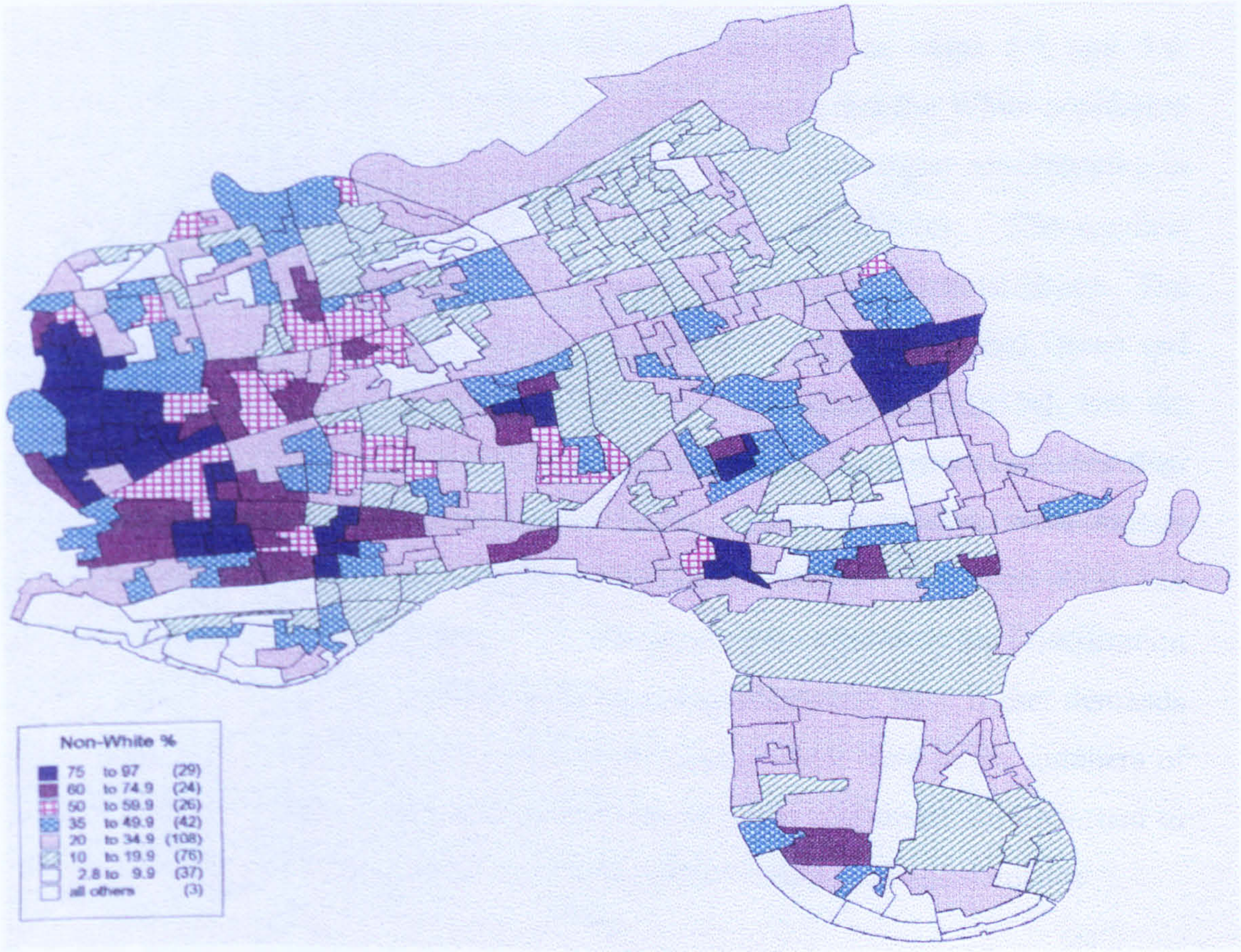
5.2.5 Race and Housing in Tower Hamlets

Based on the 1991 census, the main ethnic groups in Tower Hamlets were White (64%), Bangladeshi (23%) and Black Caribbean and African groups 6%. Other ethnic groups made up the remaining 7%. The racial profile of Tower Hamlets is important for council housing allocation. Research at national, regional and local levels has shown that ethnic minorities are disadvantaged in the council housing system (see previous discussion in Chapter 3). This is linked to race, where Black and Asian council applicants and tenants have been subjected to discrimination in the housing system (CRE, 1984; 1991b). In 1991 just over a third (36%) of the total population in Tower Hamlets were ethnic minorities. This was significantly higher in some locations, as identified later by central government figures for Tower Hamlets New Deal areas where it was calculated at 73%, see Table 3.4 (ODPM, 2002b).

Map 5.5 1981 Percent of Non-white HouseHolds in Tower Hamlets
Source: 1981 Census



Map 5.6 1991 Percent of Non-white HouseHolds in Tower Hamlets Source: 1991 Census



A key foundation of the race and housing debate is the linking of tenure patterns to discrimination suffered by minorities in council housing. In Tower Hamlets, this is focused particularly on the Bangladeshi community, where 85% of the population live in council housing. This places most of their housing aspirations in the council housing sector, supporting the need for fair allocation in rationing housing. Amongst the Black groups in the borough, the Somali community has been identified has having increasing housing need. They were the second largest ethnic group on the Homeless register in 1991 (Ye-Myint, 1992:17). However, details of their particular needs are poorly documented and understood by the council (Ye-Myint, 1992: 3).

For Bangladeshis and Black applicants there are distinct problems of access associated with council housing. The Bangladeshi population, in particular, has a documented history of unequal access to housing in the borough (Phillips, 1984; SHPRS, 1982). This has resulted in ethnic minorities being spatially concentrated on deprived estates (Home Affairs Committee, 1986; 1987).

The geographical locations of the ethnic population in Tower Hamlets show distinct spatial patterns. The size of the ethnic population between 1981 has grown but the patterns of settlement have remained similar, illustrated in Maps 5.5 and 5.6. Residence by ethnicity from the 1991 census wards shows that the White population are mostly concentrated in the east of the borough, with the largest concentration in Park ward in Bow (where 85% of the population are White). The smallest concentration of White households (27%) was in Spitalfields in Bethnal Green. The major ethnic groups are Bangladeshis, concentrated in wards in Bethnal Green and Stepney. The largest Bangladesh concentration is in Spitalfields (61%), and the lowest (4%) in Park ward. The Black Caribbean population were more dispersed than the Bangladeshi population, whereas the Black African population were mainly concentrated in East India ward (4.2%) in the Poplar locality. The maps show that localities vary in their ethnic composition and this may be a factor in the prioritisation of housing need. Also, this means that certain neighbourhoods have higher demands for housing, for example Stepney and Bethnal Green which have larger numbers of Bangladeshi households. Geographical patterns of ethnic settlement are important to the discussion of policy differences, as this illustrates varied need and demands

amongst the neighbourhoods. Later in this chapter, and in the case studies in the following chapter, this particular issue is explored.

5.2.6 Summary of Council Housing Characteristics

The population characteristics of the borough over the last twenty years placed particular demands on council housing in Tower Hamlets. This included the growth in population between 1981 and 1991, which featured larger households and high proportions of dependent children. Stock characteristics compounded the inability of council housing supply to meet demands in the borough. Difficulties included a mismatch between household size and dwellings, lack of properties in particular areas of housing stress and insufficient investment. This has created some problems for residents in the borough, in widespread overcrowding, and unmet demands for large size council housing properties that were in short supply.

Affordability is an important housing issue. Financial considerations are a priority to many housing applicants because of the high levels of unemployment and the low incomes received by many residents in the borough. With weak economic backgrounds, the demand for social housing is strong. The high cost of renting and buying in the private sector precludes many residents from having other alternatives. For most residents of the borough, social housing and particularly council housing is their only option of receiving independent housing. However, the number of dwellings available to rent from the local authority has been reduced. This creates two problems for procedural justice: how to ration the limited supply of housing, and which needy groups should be given priority (for example overcrowded and homeless). The next section describes the allocation processes in which the legal framework of justice is implemented.

5.3 ALLOCATION PROCEDURES IN TOWER HAMLETS 1986 - 1998

This introduction to the first case study continues with an outline of allocation methods in Tower Hamlets. Earlier, in Chapter 3 general features of council housing allocation nationally were explained. This section outlines fundamental characteristics of the model used to allocate council housing to applicants in Tower Hamlets. Later sections in this and the following chapter discuss the ways that

procedures have changed. Here, the aim is to describe general aspects of the model, which are features of procedures throughout the period studied from1984 to 1998.

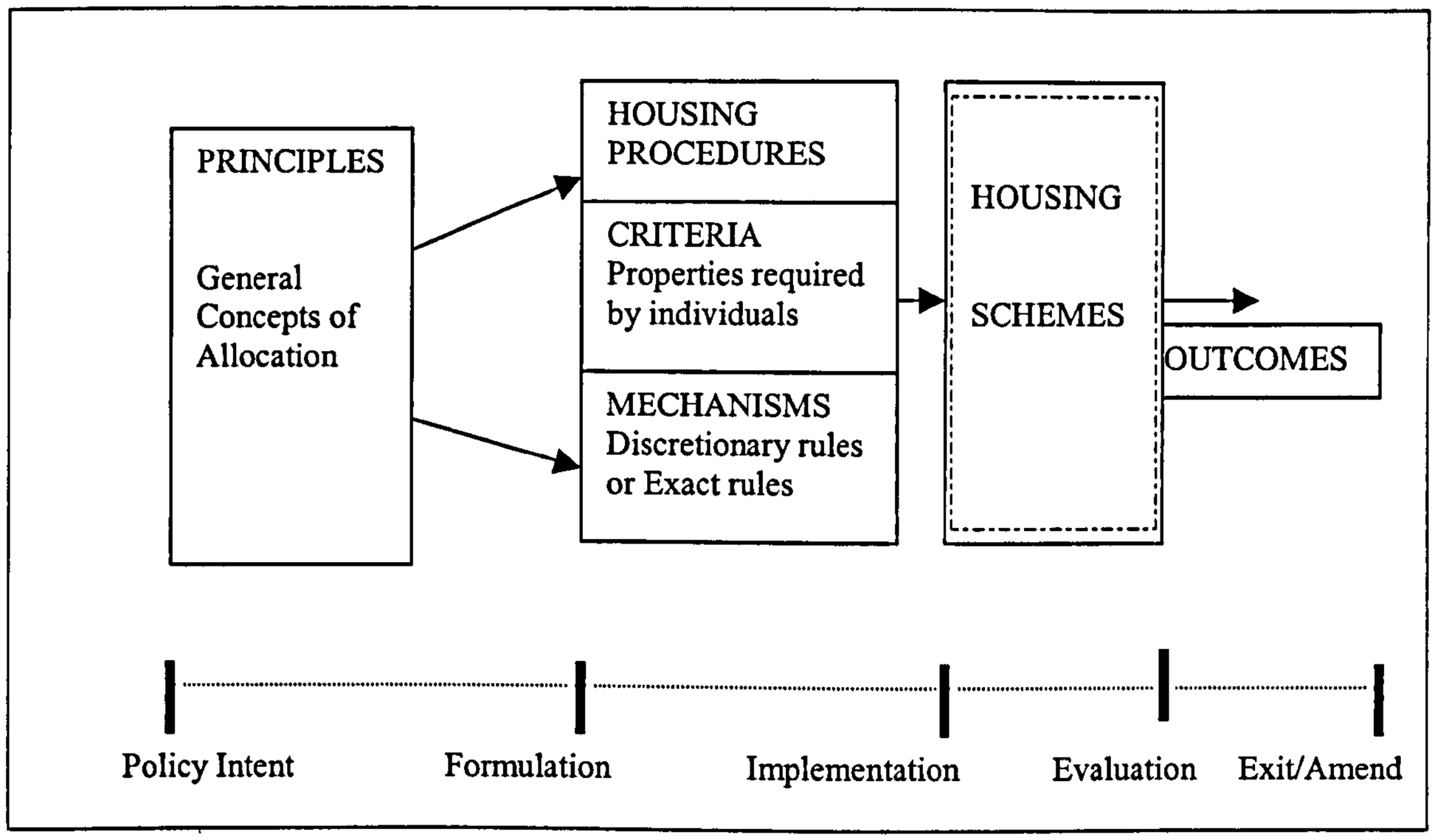
5.3.1 Allocation Methods

The analytical framework for this section follows Elster's (1992) view of social justice through public institutions. The main objective of his argument is the need to relate egalitarian universal principles of justice to practical rationing solutions. Elster's (1992) model of institutional justice is relevant to organisation that are distributing public goods at the micro level, where pluralist issues of justice are significant. Local justice in Elster's model is characterised by two elements - the importance of local decision making in the development of policy and the distributive aims of institutional staff and actors.

Elster (1992: 62-66) argues that three components are the basis of any distributive system for achieving social justice through institutions. Figure 5.1 illustrates this model of allocation. Simple descriptions of Elster's three components begin with the general principles and procedure of policy. These constitute the ethical foundation and concepts for a rationing process. Based on this foundation are two elements of allocation schemes. These are developed as rationing tools from which queuing or waiting procedures are established. They include criteria or characteristics required of applicants, such as length of residence, and mechanisms or rules and discretion used in allocation procedures. Mechanisms can be either exact criteria or rules with discretionary elements. Principles, criteria and mechanisms are then combined into rationing procedures that are developed into different allocation schemes for distributing services or goods.

I have developed Elster's (1992) model of distribution system and included my own interpretation of how this may be applied to council housing. In applying Elster's model to housing allocation it was necessary to theorise the way different administrative components work within the policy process of local authority housing departments (Ham and Hill, 1984; Marsh, 1998) previously discussed in Chapter 3.

Figure 5.1 Allocation Methods and Council Housing Policy



Source based on Elster, 1992: 62-66; Ham and Hill, 1984: 132-142.

Stages in the policy process are useful to describe general features of Elster's model of rationing systems. For council housing the different stages of allocation have their own significance to the process of local justice. Principles are defined when polices are first initiated. At formulation, criteria and mechanisms are decided and this continues into implementation, where further changes are made. Evaluation involves assessment of all components to ensure that schemes are fair. Allocation outcomes represent the end of the policy process where a just distribution may or may not have been achieved. .

Each stage provides an arena where social justice views are contested (Elster, 1992: 132-133). Particularly, differences exist between pluralist and universal views that were either implicit or explicit in the allocation system. This case study reviews changes in housing allocation policy in Tower Hamlets in the NDN period. It also examines the CRE's role and the reaction to this by the local authority.

5.4 NDN: THE LAW AND UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

This case study investigates changes in housing allocation in Tower Hamlets between 1986 and 1992. It focuses on the intervention by the CRE and the imposition of the NDN. The case study takes a 'critical instance' approach, using different reviews and analysis to assess the influence of the CRE and NDN. This evaluation aims to analyse the NDN as a policy mechanism for achieving social justice. The review will provide an examination of the requirements of the NDN. The discussion will follow the chronology in Table 5.3, outlining the timetable of CRE intervention in housing allocation policy in Tower Hamlets.

Table 5.3 Chronology of Intervention by the CRE in Tower Hamlets Housing

YEAR	ACTION	MAIN POLICY ISSUES AFFECTING HOUSING PROCEDURES	INSTITUTIONAL AND HOUSING MANAGEMENT CHANGES
1984-87	CRE Formal Investigation	Unfair treatment toward Bangladeshi homeless and emergency cases	1986 New Liberal Administration
1988 SEPT	Publication of Formal Investigation	Discrimination in treatment & allocation	Re-organisation of housing into 7 localities
1988 SEPT	Non Discrimination Notice served	Insufficient progress toward equality in housing allocation	Ethnic recording of applicants. Senior personnel appointed to monitor/co-ordinate compliance
1989-1992	Strict Monitoring of Procedures	Scrutiny of procedures and outcomes by CRE	Central housing department co-ordinates monitoring and evaluation
1989	Judicial Review by CRE	Council slow to comply to NDN	Adoption of an equal opportunity policy and training for housing staff
1990-1991	2 legal Affidavits by Council	NDN contested, by some localities	Autonomous localities responded differently to NDN requirements
1992 Nov	End of the NDN		
1994	Implementation of borough wide allocation policy	New administration and organisation.	Centralised housing policy

Source: Public and privileged documents from LBTH

Analyses of the NDN requirements are made in relation to Elster's model of rationing methods. This is combined with the social justice framework discussed in Chapter 2. These are used to assess the public and institutional debate over universal justice principles for housing practices and fair outcomes. The discussion begins with a historical account of events surrounding the imposition and compliance of the NDN. Analyses of historical documents both public and restricted access on allocation policy in Tower Hamlets are examined. These are combined with key informant interviews with council officers who had various responsibilities for housing policy during the NDN period. Emphasis is placed on the NDN period, which was the most significant in developing just housing allocation in Tower Hamlets.

5.4.1 The Role of the CRE and Universal Views of Social Justice

The Commission of Racial Equality (CRE) was established by the *Race Relations Act 1976* with a remit of three duties: first, to work toward the elimination of discrimination; second, to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between racial groups; and third, to review the work of race legislation. These duties provide the CRE with powers to act and intervene on behalf of individuals or groups on the grounds of racial discrimination. The *Race Relations Act 1976* defined two types of unlawful discrimination: direct and indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination is overt and occurs where a person is treated less favourably on grounds of race, religion or ethnicity. Indirect discrimination is less overt and can exist only when the following four conditions are satisfied:

1. There is a rule which is applied equally to everyone, but may have a disproportionate effect on one or more minority groups.

2. This rule results in fewer members of minority groups qualifying as they cannot comply with measures set by the rule.

3. The inability of members of one minority group to comply with the said rule is to their detriment.

4. The rule cannot be justified on non-racial grounds.

Following this legal definition, it is important to ensure that housing allocations are not affected by the inequalities of direct or indirect discrimination (Grub, 1987: 110). One purpose of this definition was to identify some of the bureaucratic methods used to perpetuate unequal treatment suffered by ethnic minorities in the council housing system (Grub, 1987: 10). Institutional racism was a term often used to describe some of the ways this may operate (Dummet, 1973; Williams, 1985). In the 1980s this was recognised as a method whereby procedures and mechanisms were developed that affected the opportunities of Black and Asian people (Scarman, 1981; Mason, 1982). This particular type of injustice is difficult to detect and may form part of administrative procedures or systems used for all groups (Sivanandan, 1987). Phillips (1987: 141-148) argues that, based on these characteristics, institutional racism and discrimination exists in council housing allocation.

Essentially, in housing allocation discrimination occurred both by direct and indirect actions. Social justice can be described as both universal and plural in nature. This suggests that universal views of justice enshrined in the *Race Relations Act 1976* can be used as universal standard. These can then be compared against pluralist forms of justice existing in the various interest groups and stakeholders in local authorities (Karn, 1984: 170, 177). This method of working was confirmed by the CRE's action in the London borough of Hackney where the commission used its legal powers to formally investigate discrimination in the housing department. Based on universal standards of inequality in the *Race Relations Act 1976,* the CRE found evidence of direct discrimination in the allocation system towards Black applicants (CRE, 1984). This demonstrated that discrimination in the application and operation of housing procedure is comparable within universal interpretations of social justice.

Formal Investigation: Identifying Injustice

During 1984 and 1985 the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) conducted a Formal Investigation (FI) into homeless policy in Tower Hamlets housing department. Prior to this intervention there had been concern about inequality in access for racial groups in Tower Hamlets (e.g. Phillips, 1984; SHPRS, 1984). CRE action was the culmination of years of complaints by individuals and local pressure groups about council housing in the borough (CRE, 1988: 5). The investigation focused on two

broad aspects of housing policy: the housing department's treatment of Bangladeshi homeless and emergency applicants, and their allocation procedures for particular estates. CRE investigations were based on the experiences of Bangladeshi applicants and analyses of allocations and complaints between January 1984 and December 1985. The investigation examined allocations on three estates. Two, described as poor, had five times the number of Asian tenants, whilst the estate that was more advantaged in conditions and amenities housed only White tenants. Mr Rusmoth Ullah whose individual grievance was used as a test case, and prompted the initial CRE investigation, was vindicated when the CRE reported that the local authority had:

> "discriminated against Mr Rusmoth Ullah and his family who are of Bangladeshi origin by refusing or deliberately omitting to provide him with permanent accommodation" (CRE, 1988: 19).

His personal complaint was the impetus for the wider research of how the council treated all ethnic groups who applied for housing. The investigation revealed that the council as a social landlord had failed to allocate housing fairly and effectively to those in need. An important finding was that Bangladeshi applicants in severe need waited longer than White applicants for housing (CRE, 1988: 5). The report also concluded that during 1984 and 1985 Tower Hamlet's housing department had contravened the *Race Relations Act 1976* in four respects as follows:

1. The treatment of separated families constituted indirect discrimination;

2. The way emergency applicants were treated constituted direct discrimination;

3. The time spent in temporary accommodation constituted direct discrimination;

4. Housing of some families on particular estates constituted direct discrimination.

The cumulative affects of individual and institutional discrimination were combined, to heavily penalise Bangladeshi applicants. From the CRE's perspective this could be remedied only by using statutory interpretations of what justice should be, and thus legal powers were used. The Commission acted to remedy unfair allocation practices and the increasing level of injustice that certain racial groups were experiencing.

Legal definitions of justice acted as universal standards from which to assess council housing allocation.

5.4.3 The Response to the Formal Investigation: Disputing Egalitarianism

The CRE liased with the authority in the early stages after the investigation, sending a draft report for comments and consultation before publication (LBTH, 1988b). A formal response to the investigation was submitted in July 1987. This set out the local authority's interpretation of the situation. Housing actions were explained as the results of departmental changes and staff shortages. An extract from a letter to the CRE illustrates this:

> "The council feels that consideration needs to be given to the overall circumstance of the Housing Service at the time the investigation occurred. At 1 July 1985 Tower Hamlets had under its full control those housing properties in the borough previously in the ownership of the former Greater London Council. In common with other inner London Authorities, there was uncertainty as to accurate records and details of the new tenancies, problems over integration of systems of management information and, for a period, a general confusion." (LBTH, 1988a).

Unhelpful comments were also made concerning the investigation methodology, which the council considered flawed and unscientific (LBTH, 1988a). In addition, the formal reply was of the opinion that the test case (Mr Ullah's treatment) was an unfortunate mistake and was therefore not indicative of the general treatment of Bangladeshi applicants in the housing department. Another extract from the council formal reply gives a clear demonstration of the local authority's position on this issue.

> "The council has concluded that the CRE has been somewhat selective in the use of its supporting evidence to back its case that direct or indirect discrimination has taken place in the Housing Service. The Council does not underestimate the extent of difficulty faced by Bangladeshi and other ethnic minority communities. However, the Council does not believe that any good purpose is served by incomplete analysis and the inability to substantiate the extremely serious allegations which have been made by the commission," (LBTH, 1988a).

Following the council's argument, set out in the above extract, it appears that the local authority considered the claims of discrimination were not representative of the general nature of housing allocation in the borough. Therefore their formal reply

defended the housing department, placing blame on administrative changes at the time of investigation. The official response described new measures that the council had taken to improve housing services. This may suggest that the authority did not want further CRE involvement which may have resulted in negative publicity from the media. Their defence of administrative failure rather than deliberate injustice may indicate that they felt organisational changes would provide adequate improvements. The reply set out seven measures the local authority believed would produce a fair and just housing service. The council undertook to:

1. develop a comprehensive **equal opportunity statement,** this would be agreed and publicised for all housing services;
2. introduce **a code of practice for procedures and practices** in housing and social services;
3. provide appropriate **training for key housing staff,** referring particularly to the 1976 Race Relations Act;
4. supply **public information on housing services,** access and eligibility appropriately translated into ethnic minority languages;
5. produce **a timetable for measures** and ensure that all measures would be undertaken within a year;
6. make the **Chief Executive responsible for race equality and relations** issues, through the central policy unit of the council;
7. **oversee all the measures** above and provide the CRE with regular reports.

The local authority hoped the formal reply would prevent the need for the CRE to resort to issuing a legal notice for compliance. However, previous steps to ensure universal principles of justice in council allocation had failed to be implemented. Deborah Phillips (1986) had examined Greater London Council (GLC) allocation in the borough[33]. Phillips' report prior to the formal investigation had found discrimination in letting policy. She identified that Asians were offered properties on poorer quality estates and recommended changes to the allocation system (Phillips, 1986). After a hand-over of properties to Tower Hamlets Council the council had not responded to the lessons of the Phillips report nor instigated changes. There was therefore no evidence to support the position that the local authority would adhere to

[33] The GLC had owned 60% of council housing in the borough prior to their abolition in 1986.

their own policy changes to address inequalities. The opposite was likely, given the precedent of inaction towards the recommendation suggested by Phillips (1986).

5.4.4 Publication of the Formal Investigation: Confirming Universal Views of Justice

On the 1st September 1988 the CRE made public the results of their Formal Investigation. This report was called *Homelessness and Discrimination* (CRE, 1988). The report was critical of the way that the housing department treated Bangladeshi applicants. Concentrating on the four inequalities that contravened the *Race Relations Act 1976*. These were difficulties in obtaining emergency housing, treatment of separated families, the amount of time families spent in bed and breakfast accommodation; and the practice of housing families on poor quality estates (CRE, 1988: 49). Although the CRE's report referred to decisions and action taken by previous Labour administrations, there had been no significant changes. Operation of the allocation system and the homeless policy in particular had not undergone any major change under the new Liberal administration. For the CRE the report was still indicative of the current operation of the housing department.

The CRE recognised that there was a history of discrimination in the authority and that little action had been taken by the council to improve policies for those disadvantaged, mainly the Bangladeshi population. They found that the housing department over a period of 10 years had systemically allocated Asian applicants to poorer quality housing: specifically, John Scurr House where 49% of the estate population were Bangladeshi compared to 9% in the borough. Comparison with two other estates, Patriot Square and Electric House (CRE, 1988: 48), showed that better quality properties were allocated to White tenants on Patriot Square where Asian tenants were absent. In contrast, ethnic minority tenants particularly Asians were over-represented on poorer quality estates such as Electric House.

This situation demonstrated that organisational policies and practices resulted in the failure of the local authority to act fairly. This situation supports Shaklar's (1990: 7) argument that injustices are public and associated to identifiable discrimination; often determined by legal criteria. In this way the CRE publication confirmed and

articulated the strength of the injustice suffered by housing applicants which, although locally recognised, was given additional resonance by CRE involvement.

Involvement of the media after the report's publication situated the council housing debate in the wider public arena. An option open to the council was an appeal under section 59 of the *Race Relations Act 1976* (Grub, 1987). There are no written statements of why this was not pursued. Media reporting of the events were critical of the ruling Liberal party, damaging the authority's perception by linking it with injustice and adversely affecting Liberal councillors own political position (*Asian Herald*, 1988a; *The Independent*; 1988; *The Guardian,* 1988).

Press statements given by the political leader of Tower Hamlets, Brenda Collins, defended the housing department's actions (*Asian Herald*, 1988b). In general, Liberal councillors supported the local authority whereas Labour councillors heeded the advice of the CRE. Liberal Councillor Flounders, involved in council allocation policy, was quoted as saying the report was a "scandal riddled with factual inaccuracies" (*East London Advertiser*, 1988). Perhaps the media reporting of systematic failures in the council housing department over several years and the public split between the political parities was considered as too damaging for the authority. Therefore in this situation no appeal was undertaken.

In conclusion, the formal investigation was a very useful tool. It highlighted the case of one family's personal experience of the housing department. It also provided an account of the public face of the borough's allocation policy. Inconsistencies in the treatment and application of policy between Asian and White applicants illustrated the unfair practices carried out by housing officers.

5.4.5 High Court (1) Imposition of the NDN: Justice Failed

On the 29th September 1988, following the publication of the Formal Report, the CRE issued a Non Discrimination Notice (NDN) to Tower Hamlets Council. Non Discrimination Notices are issued if the serious nature of Formal Investigations are not realised by the organisation under investigation (Grub, 1987). Slow or cumbersome processes to develop policy could demonstrate this. In contrast, direct

change or prompt co-ordination of personnel to oversee or carry out changes would show a willingness to work with the Commission (Moore, 1994). The Commission's view was clear in this excerpt from the press statement announcing the NDN:

> "In deciding whether to issue a Non Discrimination Notice the Commission considered the written and oral representations setting out the changes already made by the council and its proposals for the future. They concluded that no significant changes had been made to the Council's housing policies and practices which would eliminate the types of discrimination identified in the investigation." (CRE, 1991c :1)

This was a legal notice under the *Race Relations Act 1976* section 58 compelling Tower Hamlets council to comply with eleven requirements to address discrimination. A two month period before the NDN notice was enforced was set. Overall, the total period of the NDN was four years. This included a year for changes to occur.

The eleven requirements of the NDN included administrative, organisational and cultural changes. Requirements are summarised in the first column of Table 5.4; all were legally binding. The majority of requirements involved improving procedures through amendments to policy and practice. These were necessary so that non-discriminatory and just housing services could be developed.

Requirements also included the adoption of an Equal Opportunity policy by the authority and training on race awareness for housing staff to change the culture of discrimination endemic in the housing department. The necessity of training was an instrument that facilitated some changes in the organisational culture and beliefs about inequality and disadvantage of some groups. The Equal Opportunity strategy confirmed that universal egalitarian notions of justice were the acceptable standard. Organisation changes that were taking place as a result of decentralisation had to be reconsidered in the light of operating fair policies. This included a central monitoring function for council housing management and required that some policy co-ordinating and assessment was undertaken centrally for the borough as a whole. A Principal Monitoring Officer was also appointed. This was part of a strategy which ensured effective evaluation of discrimination in housing allocation policy.

The purpose of the NDN was to ensure that policy and procedures were fair, and were equally applied to all applicants regardless of race. An egalitarian emphasis on need was required within the operation of the letting procedures. Policies were to be non-discriminatory in treatment and outcome (CRE, 1988: 57-59). Therefore the NDN focused on practical changes to housing procedures, information collection and monitoring.

5.4.6 High Court (2) NDN Compliance: Asserting Universal Views

In November 1989 the CRE began judicial review proceedings against the Authority. The development and implementation of policy and procedure to rectify unfair practices was slow. Work towards augmenting equal outcomes between ethnic groups had not gathered sufficient pace in the two years that the NDN was issued. Hence the commission decided to seek a judicial review. Documents showed that the inability to schedule meetings with the CRE and agree methods and progress caused persistent delays in implementing the NDN requirements. The post of the principal monitoring office, a requirement of the NDN, was not advertised until December 1989, more than a year after the Notice was issued (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992c).

The local authority was divided into seven autonomous localities, called neighbourhoods, each with their own housing department. There was a central housing department responsible for co-ordinating compliance but this did not have a strong political voice or power in the decentralised system. This had disadvantages for the successful implementation of necessary compliance quickly. The centre was further constrained by the variable nature of the housing management in each of the seven localities and the political party ruling the neighbourhood. This, combined with communication difficulties between central and local departments and the slow co-ordination of the various committee structures, both centrally and locally, hindered the pace of change. These factors resulted in the slow pace of compliance to the NDN requirements (LBTH, 1989).

A summary of NDN compliance in the first 2 years was requested by the Judicial Review. Some progress had been made in 7 of the 11 requirements set out in Table 5.4. column 3. An assessment of progress in chronological order showed that in the

first year the council identified seven different policies on separated families (no. 5) and had agreed a procedure for recording emergency cases (no. 3). The council had commissioned a consultancy report on the homeless unit (no. 8). By 18 months there had been discussions on the grading scheme for housing applicants (no. 6), and a written Equal Opportunities policy statement (no. 1). By this time the council had also appointed a monitoring officer (no. 11). Discussions were continuing on the quality scheme (no. 6). There was intermittent training of housing staff in some neighbourhoods (no. 10). The first meeting to implement the report on homeless unit had also been held (no. 8). Requirements numbered 2, 4, 7 and 9 in Table 5.4, had not been tackled. This related to ethnic monitoring (no. 2) and the review of allocation policy (no. 9). Progress in dismantling practices and procedures in the treatment of homeless and separated family applicants had also not taken place.

5.4.7 High Court (3) Application for Judicial Review: Justice is Not Satisfied

The summary of work undertaken by the local authority was insufficient to comply with the agreed NDN timetable. The CRE made the decisions to take further legal steps and applied to the High Court for a Judicial Review against the council. This was an unprecedented step because it was feasible for the CRE to take legal rights through the lower court, however the Commission opted for the High Court (CRE, 1991c). They were not satisfied with the level of compliance.

The High Court gave the CRE leave to apply for a judicial review. This involved three legal orders concerning the failure of the authority to comply with the NDN, a declaration that they had breached section 71 of the *Race Relations Act 1976;* and an application for costs. Section 71 imposed a duty on all local authorities to make sure that their various responsibilities were carried out with regard to eliminating unlawful racial discrimination, and promoting equality of opportunity. Inclusion of this order, set principles of justice as an objective to be implemented throughout the entirety of council's services. The Commission's frustration with Tower Hamlets council in achieving this objective is illustrated by a quote from the CRE's Chief Executive. This was in the press statement that explained this new legal action.

> "There is no point in the commission conducting Formal Investigation exposing racial, discrimination and issuing notices if the steps then

> taken are not sufficient to put matters right. This is why we brought this court action. Tower Hamlets have a statutory duty under the Race Relations Act 1976 to carry out their functions with due regard to the need to eliminate racial discrimination and to promote equal opportunities, and they have not agreed to comply with the requirement of our non-discrimination notice." (LBTH, 1991: 1).

The council's reaction to the judicial review was "disappointment and surprise", stated in their press statement following the announcement (LBTH, 1991). The council on a whole maintained that they were not in breach of the *Race Relations Act 1976* (LBTH, 1991). The most damaging was the order against Section 71 of the Act which was interpreted as breaking acceptable universal views of justice. The CRE's legal counsel was quoted as saying that the action was settled because the council recognised that there was still much to be done (*The Times*, 1991).

5.4.8 Tower Hamlets Affidavits: Asserting Plural Views

The local authority responded to the application for Judicial Review by filing an Affidavit[34] in the High Court. Tower Hamlets Chief Executive swore to this in February 1990. The affidavit outlined changes associated with compliance and future measures to fully comply with all the NDN directives. The legal schedule represented by the affidavit enabled the judicial review to be adjourned for nine months.

In discussion with the CRE prior to the High Court hearing, the council was able to argue that it had complied in part with each of the CRE requirements. The CRE agreed a settlement that work on full compliance would be achieved within specified guidelines and time limits for completion (LBTH, Management Board, 1992). Details of the undertaking were clearly set out and understood so that measures were not open to dispute. During this period matters that had been identified as urgent were only slowly rectified. For example, the ethnic recording in the neighbourhood housing departments had not begun as quickly as was requested by the CRE. This new situation prompted the CRE to withdraw the request for a Judicial Review in respect of the alleged breach of section 71.

---

[34] Affidavit is a legal document sworn by oath and used as legal proof of duties undertaken. In this instance it was used both in the pre court proceedings to confirm the legal nature of information given. Later, the affidavit was used as a guide to toward compliance of the NDN.

After the affidavit of 1990, the local authority still resisted full compliance to the NDN. This was evident as some neighbourhoods fought to maintain their own policy differentials amongst the decentralised council housing allocation system. These were often detrimental to the objective of a non–discriminatory housing service for the borough as a whole. An example of this is the issue of ethnic recording in Bow neighbourhood. Prior to the settlement of the action, under local political leadership the housing management withdrew their co-operation from ethnic monitoring of housing applicants. However the council's whole commitment to compliance was being jeopardised by this position in one locality. The relevant committee in the neighbourhood reversed this decision only under advice that the consequences may bring further compliance for the borough as a whole. Shortly before the CRE agreed the terms of settlement with the authority the neighbourhood committee's decision was reversed so that compliance could be achieved (LBTH, Bow SNC, 1990). These circumstances illustrated the importance of the NDN in asserting the supremacy of universal views of justice over local views of how justice should be achieved.

5.4.9 The End of the NDN: The Supremacy of Universal Views of Justice

The CRE decided to continue the legal option of the judicial review that had already been filed in the high court (this was in a 'legal queue' awaiting a court date). This waiting time was used effectively by the CRE. They continued their challenge to the plural policy making and procedural changes that existed in the councils decentralised housing departments and homeless unit. Justice principles based on political ideals of the Liberal party and which were suggested in their manifesto, supported principles of desert (Liberal Democrats, 1986). The example of ethnic monitoring in Bow demonstrated this and illustrated that plural views were still important in some localities. In contrast, the CRE advocated principles of need and equality based on egalitarian universal views of social justice.

There was still slow compliance, and more importantly the commission was still discovering, through their analyses of housing policy and outcomes, unequal patterns of housing allocations to different racial groups, and unfair procedures. This slow implementation of new policy change resulted in a second affidavit in February 1991 (LBTH, 1991). This was conveniently sworn (legalised) prior to the 18th March 1991

when Judicial Review Proceedings in the High Court would have commenced against the council. Thus, this additional legal action was not taken. Following this situation compliance was reached at the end of the notice in November 1992. The CRE did not re-apply for a further notice, although this was possible under the terms of the first notice. Universal views of justice interpreted in the NDN and three further legal actions eventually forced the authority to undertake council housing practices fairly, based on just principles. Regular monitoring reports were produced by council and as a result, policy review and evaluation became part of the housing management (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992a).

In Tower Hamlets, NDN compliance was complex due to the decentralised governance structure. Compliance involved many stages and began with information gathering of policy and practice, often in the seven housing localities. Reviewing the policies and then agreeing changes, this was then carried out, through various committees in liaison with housing staff, councillors and legal officers. Once approved by the CRE, these amendments were implemented by housing officials in their dealings with applicants or in their administrative duties. Table 5.4 based on committee reports provide an overview of action taken to comply with the NDN. Column 1 of Table 5.4 numbers the requirements, column 2 lists actions needed to comply. Column 3 indicates progress within two years, column 4 gives an approximate date of compliance. Column 5 states duties undertaken during the NDN.

The Table concludes with column 6, which shows that some requirements were continued beyond the NDN period. After the cessation of the legal notice, most changes started as a result of the NDN requirements were continued in order to maintain a fairer housing system (LBTH, Housing and Corporate 1992a; 1992b). Equal opportunity policy was maintained, ethnic monitoring was continued and separated families were treated similar to other groups requiring housing. The next section analyses the NDN requirements, and assesses its contribution to interpreting justice in administering council housing allocations.

Table 5.4 Actions to Comply with NDN Requirements in Tower Hamlets

(1)	NDN REQUIREMENTS ISSUED SEPTEMBER 1987 (2)	Progress within 2 years (3)	DATE OF FULL COMPLIANCE (4)	ACTION ON COMPLETION NOVEMBER 1992 (5	POST NDN 1993 (6)
1	Adopt & publicise EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY for housing.	✓	26 Apr 1989 to Dec 1990	Adopt publicise Equalities policy	✓
2	Record the ETHINIC ORIGIN of applicants applying for housing.	✓	1 Apr 1989 to Nov 1992	Recording at 80 % level	✓
3	Analyse the WAIT EMERGENCY CASES have for PERMANENT HOUSING and number of offers made to each case.	✓	17 Dec 1991	Regularly Monitored	
4	Analyse the TIME HOMELESS CASES WAIT FOR OFFERS of permanent housing and number of offers made to each case.	✓	On going	Regularly Monitored	✓
5	Analyse the TREATMENT OF SEPERATED FAMILIES on the waiting list and in the homeless queue.	✓	24 Jan 1991	New policy and guidance notes developed	✓
6	ANALYSE THE QUALITY OF HOUSING OFFERED and the quality of housing received by all applicant groups.	X	4 Jan1992	Regular quality reports produced	
7	Ensure separated families APPLICANTS WITH DEPENDANTS LIVING OUTSIDE THE UK are assessed and treated as those on the waiting list.	X	24 Jan 1991 New Policy adopted	New Policy and Procedures adopted	✓
8	THE ASSESSMENT OF HOMELESS APPLICANTS AND EMERGENCY CASES review procedures, practices and criteria used.	X	18 Sept. 1991	New Policy and Procedures adopted	✓
9	REVIEW PROCEDURES, PRACTICES AND ASSESSMENT CRITERIA FOR OFFERING PROPERTIES, ensure they are defined, relevant to need, and applied equally to all	X	18 Sept 1991 Review sent	CRE accepted Feb 92	✓
10	PROVIDE TRAINING FOR HOUSING STAFF on interviewing/assessing waiting list, emergency/ homeless cases and the offering of properties in a non discriminatory fashion according to 1976 Race Relations Act.	X	Aug 1991 to Jun 1992	350 staff trained	✓
11	Appoint an officer RESPONSIBILE FOR NDN MONITORING AND COMPLIANCE to ensure the councils duty to foster EOP under Race Relations legislation is undertaken.	✓	Apr 1988 Principal Officer appointed	Evaluation established as part of housing policy	

Source: various documents principally LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992b.

5.5 EVALUATION OF NDN AGAINST UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE

The previous sections of the case study examined the imposition of the NDN and traced the events that occurred in accepting the objectives of the CRE. This section focuses on the principles of justice connected to allocation models, specific legal requirements of the NDN and administrative systems connected to housing procedures. Discussion here concerns three justice issues: general principles of justice, legal principles of justice and concepts of procedural and distributive justice. The conclusion is provided by an analysis of administrative procedures in housing allocation, particularly those used by CRE, and their relationship to views of social justice.

5.5.1 NDN Requirements: and Principles of Social Justice in Allocation

The imposition of the NDN can be evaluated in terms of its aim to expound fair principles of allocation in housing column 3. This position is based on the universal nature of distributive methods outlined in Figure 5.1. Elster (1992: 102 -103) argues that rationing public goods requires procedures based on just principles. According to Rawls (1972: 84-87) they must also withstand scrutiny and have independent standards from which a fair outcomes can be assessed. Following this model an evaluation of the NDN requirements was undertaken in Table 5.5. This analysis shows that the CRE considered some allocation methods as not attaining basic principles of just allocation. These aspects related especially to several failures of policy, especially the inability to ensure equality of access for ethnic minority applicants.

To rectify these the NDN required that the council adopt and publicise an equal opportunity policy for housing. It was also necessary that the council systematically record the ethnic origin of applicants, to monitor the treatment of applicant groups. Training housing staff to deal fairly with all applicants and appointing a monitoring officer, assisted in this positive changes to improve general principles of justice.

Table 5.5 NDN Requirements and Justice in Elements of the Allocation Process

(1)	NDN REQUIREMENTS (2)	PRINCIPLES of just allocation (3)	CRITERIA for applicants or tenants (4)	MECHANISM procedures and rules with Discretion (5)
1	Adopt & publicise EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY for housing	X		
2	Record the ETHINIC ORIGN of applicants applying for housing	X		
3	Analyse the WAIT EMERGENCY CASES HAVE FOR PERMANENT HOUSING and number of offers made to each case			X
4	Analyse the TIME HOMELESS CASES WAIT FOR OFFERS of permanent housing and number of offers made to each case			X
5	Analyse the TREATMENT OF SEPERATED FAMILIES on the waiting list and in the homeless queue			X
6	ANALYSE THE QUALITY OF HOUSING OFFERED and the quality of housing received by all applicant groups			X
7	Ensure separated families APPLICANTS WITH DEPENDANTS LIVING OUTSIDE THE UK are assessed and treated as those on the waiting list	X	X	
8	THE ASSESSMENT OF HOMELESS APPLICANTS AND EMERGENCY CASES review the procedures, practices and criteria used		X	
9	REVIEW PROCEDURES, PRACTICES AND THE ASSESSMENT CRITERIA FOR OFFERING PROPERTIES, ensure they are defined, relevant to need, applied equally tenants/applicants		X	
10	PROVIDE TRAINING FOR HOUSING STAFF on interviewing, & assessing of emergency, homeless, waiting list, cases and on allocating properties on options and in a non discriminatory fashion in accordance with Race Relations legislation	X		
11	Appoint a SENIOR OFFICER RESPONSIBILITY FOR MONITORING AND COMPLIANCE to the NDN and to ensure the councils duty to foster EOP under Race Relations legislation is undertaken.	X		

Source: LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1999c; Management Board, 1992.

Column 4 of Table 5.5 relates to eligibility criteria, which are properties that individuals need to possess, to qualify for housing. An example is the residency criterion - length of time new applicants must have lived in the borough in order to be considered for council housing. Some of the criteria applied when assessing applicants were unfair to certain groups of applicants. Homeless applicants and those with dependants from overseas were seen to be especially disadvantaged. The CRE therefore required the housing department to change the criteria applied to these groups, ensuring that offering properties was more clearly defined and applied consistently to all applicant groups.

Mechanisms in column 5 are a sophisticated mix of procedures and rules, which may be fixed with no discretion, for example rules for application to the homeless register. Alternatively, they can be fixed with a discretionary element. For example, offering properties to applicants involves discretion and judgement by lettings officer, in selecting and matching properties to applicants. Certain mechanisms used in the allocation process were seen by the CRE to be unfair and in need of review. These included the waiting time to be re-housed for applicants who were homeless or applying for emergency rehousing. The CRE also agreed that the process by which offers were made meant that some applicants were unfairly deprived of access to better quality council housing and it required that this aspect of the system should be assessed.

The NDN requirement relating to the treatment of separated families is the only directive that can be categorised as being concerned with both the principle and the criteria for a just allocation. This view led to the CRE judgement that the treatment of Bangladeshi applicants was subject to indirect discrimination because this criterion would apply particularly to Asian applicants. This suggested that using these particular rules adversely affected their housing situation and the council was therefore exercising a form of specific discrimination toward this ethnic group.

5.5.2 Legal Interpretations of Justice

Rawls (1972: 118) argues that social justice is developed through 'reflective equilibrium', where acceptable standards and values in the community are developed into legal statues. This supports legal interpretation of social justice as being acceptable universal standards. However, Bell (1992) argues that there are various legal interpretations of justice because justice is a socially constructed concept. Therefore, Bell argues the pluralist nature of justice necessitates that a single standard is recognised as the universal aim of justice. In this respect, using legislation such as the *Race Relations Act 1976* to assess housing injustice and enforce fair practices, legitimises the universal nature of justice. The findings of the formal investigation identified legal interpretations of social justice as based on universally defined principles of justice. These were then elaborated by the requirements set down in the NDN and subsequent legal schedules as various discriminatory actions and behaviour that needed review.

Table 5.6 is a matrix that illustrates the relationships of allocation policy to these basic legal principles. Four policies identified by the NDN are assessed. These are policies on separated families, ethnic monitoring, homelessness and offering properties. Evidence was extracted from documents and reports discussed earlier. The first column sets out principles of social justice, not met in the policies operation. Compliance with these principles is defined as different types of evidence, which are set out on the matrix rows. Two conceptions of injustice are investigated, not being related to housing need. For this, evidence that the allocation system is fair, equally accessible and non-discriminatory to all sections of the community is assessed. For the second injustice, disproportionate outcomes, evidence is required that direct or indirect discrimination occurred. An example of how the four policies performed against these criteria follows.

Documentary evidence (CRE, 1988, and privileged access) suggests that certain policies and procedures were especially problematic in terms of these principles of social justice. The assessment of separated families violated principles of fair procedures, access and treatment because there were different procedures for families

separated in the UK and abroad. Families separated in the UK were treated more favourably within the housing procedures. The system showed weaknesses in ethnic monitoring and therefore failed to ensure equal access. The system by which properties were offered to applicants was problematic because Asian and Black applicants waited longer and received poorer quality housing.

Table 5.6 Four NDN Housing Policies Evaluated Against Legal Principles of Social Justice

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL JUSTICE NOT MET	Assessment of separated families	Ethnic Monitoring	Homeless Housing Policy	Offering properties
Not Related to Housing Need				
Unfair Procedures	X		X	X
Unequal Access	X	X	X	X
Unfair Treatment	X		X	X
Disproportionate Outcomes				
Direct discrimination Race Relations Act 1976			X	X
Indirect discrimination Race Relations Act 1976	X		X	

Source: Developed from CRE, 1988; privileged access documents.

Analysis of documentary evidence suggests that two principles of justice were not met by the allocation system. The moral principle of procedural justice that housing be allocated by need was not met. This was assessed on three respects: procedures that did not relate to need, unequal access to housing and unfair treatment of applicants. In terms of distributive principles outcomes that related to Rawls (1972) principles of distribution where the disadvantaged groups are not made worse off. This was assessed in two respects, whether disproportionate outcomes were the results of direct or indirect discrimination. Aspects of direct and indirect discrimination were

especially evident in homeless policy and this may have contributed to disproportionate outcomes. Specific elements of housing policy on offering properties and separated families assessments exhibited some aspects of direct and indirect discrimination.

In conclusion, the five principles identified by the NDN process served as a good indicator of the just aims and objectives of policy. In applying this to schemes the principles of justice linked to policy can be assessed. Absence of a key principle is likely to result in discrimination and disadvantage in the operation of allocation schemes. In this way legal principles of justice were interpreted and accepted as valid notions of justice. Throughout the period of the NDN these legal principles were the overriding themes used by the Commission to challenge injustice in their efforts to ensure compliance.

5.5.3 NDN and Concepts of Distributive and Procedural Justice

Chapter 2 identified procedural and distributive concepts as important aspects for council housing. Procedural issues are particularly relevant at input and throughput stages whereas distributive justice is useful for assessing outcomes. This analysis demonstrates that the NDN was an effective policy instrument to conceptualise distributive and procedural justice in allocation process. The application of theory to policy is examined further in the administrative stages of the allocation system that were also affected by the NDN.

Table 5.7 lists the requirements of the NDN and classifies them using concepts of procedural and distributive justice in housing allocation. Requirements are listed in the first column 1, column 2 sets out the basic objectives, column 3 identifies requirements that are more concerned with distributive justice. Column 4 concludes the table and shows requirements that were focused on procedural justice.

Table 5.7 NDN Requirements and Effects on Distributive and Procedural Justice

(1)	NDN REQUIREMENTS (2)	MAINLY EFFECTS DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE POLICY (3)	MAINLY EFFECTS PROCEDURAL JUSTICE OUTCOMES (4)
1	Adopt & publicise EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY for housing	✓	
2	Record the ETHINIC ORIGN of applicants applying for housing	✓	
3	Analyse the WAIT EMERGENCY CASES HAVE FOR PERMANENT HOUSING and number of offers made to each case		✓
4	Analyse the TIME HOMELESS CASES WAIT FOR OFFERS of permanent housing and number of offers made to each case		✓
5	Analyse the TREATMENT OF SEPERATED FAMILIES on the waiting list and in the homeless queue		✓
6	ANALYSE THE QUALITY OF HOUSING OFFERED and the quality of housing received by all applicant groups	✓	
7	Ensure separated families APPLICANTS WITH DEPENDANTS LIVING OUTSIDE THE UK are assessed and treated as those on the waiting list	✓	
8	THE ASSESSMENT OF HOMELESS APPLICANTS AND EMERGENCY CASES review the procedures, practices and criteria used		✓
9	REVIEW PROCEDURES, PRACTICES AND THE ASSESSMENT CRITERIA FOR OFFERING PROPERTIES, ensure they are defined, relevant to need, applied equally tenants/applicants		✓
10	PROVIDE TRAINING FOR HOUSING STAFF on interviewing, & assessing of emergency, homeless, waiting list, cases and on allocating properties on options and in anon discriminatory fashion in accordance with Race Relations legislation	✓	
11	Appoint a SENIOR OFFICER RESPONSIBILITY FOR MONITORING AND COMPLIANCE to the NDN and to ensure the councils duty to foster EOP under Race Relations legislation is undertaken.	✓	

Source: Based on LBTH documents and interviews

Requirements 1, 2, 6, 7, 10, and 11 are based around access and treatment reflecting CRE's view that policies were discriminatory in terms of distributional aspects of justice. Principles of just distribution that would have resulted in fair outcomes for housing were not followed, which contributed to disproportionate housing outcomes. Requirements 3, 4, 5, 8 and 9 were assessed as intending to rectify unfairness at procedural levels of the system. This places emphasis on allocation procedures and their implementation and practices. This highlighted procedural justice that included rules and criteria particularly in the way that specific schemes operate in different neighbourhoods.

5.5.4 NDN and the Administrative Process of Social Justice

General principles of justice are more powerful and relevant in their application if they also relate to universal legal principles of social justice. This section focuses on the usage of administrative data in allocation procedures. Importance is placed on how data is utilised to monitor and evaluate principles of justice and fairness in the allocation system. As in most local authorities, allocation procedures in Tower Hamlets had two general aims: as an assessment tool to determine who gets housing, and to aid the fair rationing of different types of housing from available properties. During the period of research the council had a single procedure based on several different allocation policies, all reflecting these general aims (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992a).

In practice, allocating housing to applicants involved administrative procedures at different stages of the process. In Tower Hamlets, as in most local authorities, principles of need were the main basis for allocation. Allocation policy in the NDN period was decentralised, resulting in variations between localities. However all applicants applying for housing, were categorised by need into different bands then prioritised by awarding various points. Suitable properties were offered to applicants, who were entitled to refuse or accept. Homeless applicants received a single offer and were not able to reject properties selected by the council (LBTH, Housing Sub Committee, 1986a).

Table 5.8 Assessing Justice through Administrative Records in Tower Hamlets Housing Department

PROCEDURES AND SOURCE OF INFORMATION (1)	TYPE OF INFORMATION (2)	PURPOSE OF INFORMATION (3)	USE IN ASSESSING JUSTICE AND LINKS TO THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES (4)
REGISTERING HOUSING Application form, estates	Current housing or homeless status to meet statutory criteria plus two years residency	To meet qualification criteria, to compile housing register, confirm demand	Procedural Justice, Equal Opportunity Principle Egalitarian Perspective
ASSESSMENT Application form, interview, medical	Family size, medical and health needs, employment data, area preferences	Assess applicant's urgency and priority type of dwelling required.	Moral Principles of Distribution need, desert, right, common good Moral Perspective
WAITING FOR HOUSING OFFERS Position in the 'queue' on register	Change in status, original Priority, time on register, time in temporary housing.	Develop targets for some applicant groups to ration housing to those in most need	Allocation Methods in Institutions Pluralist Perspective
OFFERED Match list	Priority and housing route against property/ location.	Estimate throughput of applicants in offers made	Rationing schemes for public institutions Pluralist Perspective
REFUSING HOUSING Match list	Number of refusals, reasons for refusals	Record the number of refusals, reassess matching criteria	Alternative views of Justice Pluralist Perspective
ACCEPTING HOUSING New tenancy Date	Locality, type of dwelling, floor level, no. Bedrooms, whether lifted.	Monitor type and quality of housing & which groups receive housing	Spatial & Territorial Justice Distributive Perspectives

Source: Based on Key Informant interviews and policy documents.

In Tower Hamlets the allocation system worked as an administrative process. Information was recorded as part of allocation procedures. If collection was correct and accurate this was used to monitor and evaluate allocation. Aspects of social justice in the allocation process can also be assessed from this administrative system. To undertake this evaluation involved linking concepts and views of social justice that were discussed in Chapter 3 to different stages in the allocation system. Examples of this are outlined in Table 5.8 that shows how practical tasks of housing allocation relate to social justice and how procedures may be utilised to assess different aspects of social justice. Each row in the Table corresponds to stages in the allocation process.

The columns show how information is used at each stage. Sources of data are cited in the first column, housing forms, or 'match list' (a computerised list of suitable applicants for available properties). In the second column the type of information required by the housing department to undertake the appropriate allocation procedure are shown. The third column gives the purpose of the information in evaluating the different procedures in the letting process. The fourth column gives examples of the use of housing information to assess justice. This evaluation of the NDN process is based on policy documents in the case study and the information from informant interviews.

Different types of information were collected and used for specific administrative tasks that assisted the rationing process, such as registering and waiting for housing. The Table shows that the purpose of data was clearly defined; for example assessing qualification for housing or size of property required. In addition the CRE requirements for ethnic monitoring reinforced the importance of good administrative systems. This provided the basis for good quality data, consistently collected so that comparisons and evaluation of allocation objectives and outcomes across neighbourhoods could be made.

The ability to assess different dimensions of justice that were present in council housing was enabled by recording allocation procedures and practices. Aspects of justice identified in administrative procedures (in column 4) illustrate the complexity

of justice themes that are relevant to social justice in housing. Although different allocation procedures were related to various datasets, Rawls (1972: 84-87) suggests that fair methods and independent criterion were essential for procedural justice to exist in rationing social goods (see Table 2.1.). Overwhelmingly, Rawls's egalitarian principles provides the base from which justice is assessed in the administrative system.

The assessment of administrative information in Table 5.8 was particularly important for this case study and will be useful in further analysis. Housing data were utilised to connect different views of justice to allocation. This illustrated that principles of justice could be directly linked to distributive and procedural justice in data collected through everyday housing procedures. This confirmed the CRE's view that administrative data reflected the position of justice in the allocation process by providing information on how procedures were managed and implemented.

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter outlined the timetable of CRE intervention in Tower Hamlets. Discussions involved a historical account of events surrounding the imposition and compliance of the NDN, followed by an evaluation of the legal requirements of the NDN. The section concluded the NDN evaluation with an analysis of administrative methods and its contribution to the process of justice in allocation. The main objective of this chapter was to explore the value of universal egalitarian perspectives of justice in rationing council housing. The analysis in this chapter crystallised three important facts connected to this argument. First, it confirmed that universal legal principles of justice could be applied to rationing public goods, such as council housing. Second, it exposed injustices that occur when social justice does not have a strong link with universal justice principles, and where pluralist views are given prominence. Third, the Tower Hamlets case study captured the various ways that discrimination and injustice affected minority groups applying for housing, illustrating some of the unique social, economic and geographical factors contributing to this during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Initially, the CRE's Formal Investigation identified racial discrimination toward Bangladeshi applicants, in Tower Hamlets housing department. The nature of the unlawful discrimination was direct in three instances and indirect in one instance. These breaches of the *Race Relations Act 1976* were serious and had greatly reduced the chances of Black and Asian applicants receiving housing fairly. Equality of access and opportunity were reduced for these groups, in terms of Rawls's principle of fair equality of opportunity (Rawls, 1972: 60; Edwards, 1990: 31). However, there was an even more serious potential breach, pertaining to the general responsibility of Tower Hamlets as a local authority, to ensure fairness in all their public services. This concerned their duty under section 71 of the *Race Relations Act 1976,* to foster good community relations in delivering services. However, this threat was not substantiated as further legal action on this issue was not undertaken.

The CRE intervention and subsequent NDN provided an impartial, external view of justice, from which, a clear public conception of justice for all sections of the community could be illustrated. CRE actions also reflected a wider societal view of universal social justice. This focused the impact of dissenting (smaller) local voices, and expounded views of what was socially just for all residents in Tower Hamlets. Using legal measures to improve justice, the CRE opened up the public debate about access to housing for all applicants and tenants in the council housing system. The NDN imposition highlighted the failure of the local authority to ensure inclusive treatment for all sections of the community. In particular, there was a failure to perform the statutory role of the housing department, to administer fair housing allocation and allocate housing according to a scale of universal egalitarian need for all applicants.

Although the NDN was imposed through the High Court, there was still reluctance on the part of housing management and politicians in some localities to adhere to the letter of the law. Progress was slow in complying with the eleven NDN requirements. Even after taking into consideration the decentralised structure of the authority, the pace of change had hardly gathered any momentum after two years. Later, after staff training and developing an equal opportunities strategy, acceptance of universal views was still difficult in the local authority. Further legal action by the CRE was

necessary to ensure compliance, as alternative conceptions of justice existed and were given prominence by some housing stakeholders. Implementation problems seemed to arise from the lack of political will, management styles and communication difficulties between different localities, the centre and the CRE.

Evaluation of the NDN imposition and compliance examined at three levels in the authority, showed universal legal principles had various impacts. Foremost, the NDN was an important policy instrument for assessing general principles of social justice in housing allocation methods. Second, the NDN interpretation of justice through a legal framework provided a universal benchmark that, other pluralist views of justice could be compared to. Third, the NDN allowed the development of procedural and distributive concepts in administering allocation policy. This can be related to Elster's (1992: 62-66) proposal of rationing methods for social goods through public institutions based on universal principles of justice. Elster's model provides a administrative framework in which the legal interpretation for the rationing procedures of distribution can be applied. However, issues of institutional and local group interest did alter the outcomes of justice, and these were re-asserted by the legal requirements of the NDN. Some of these issues are developed further in case studies in the next chapter as there are different dimensions to justice.

The information shown in Table 5.8 has been particularly important for the analysis of the nature of justice reported here. Evaluation of social justice theory through administrative records and documents, in combination with other information, in the analysis is presented in this chapter, and in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 of this thesis. However, as this chapter has shown, records and data can be interpreted in different ways and this is particularly relevant for the stakeholder case studies discussed in Chapter 6. The NDN illustrated the significance of universal and consensus nature of justice for the majority of groups and individuals in society. The case study also highlighted the contestation of justice by those who believed in other, pluralist views, and this is explored in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6

PLURALIST VIEWS AND STAKEHOLDERS

"Nowhere are prejudices more mistaken for truth, passion for reason, and invective for documentation than politics" J. Mason Brown (Amoah 1989: 43).

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins by outlining the background of decentralisation government in Tower Hamlets between 1986 and 1994. This is followed by the political context in the period and its links to council housing policy. The background continues with an outline of local politics and council housing allocation and examines the stakeholder model of policy development for housing localities. The remainder of the discussion is presented through an analysis of three case studies of housing policy in the borough localities. The roles of stakeholders in the development of these policies, their actions and influences in policy change are examined. Discussion focuses on the locality differences and needs through an examination of events that occurred at specific times. The conclusion of this chapter draws on theories to demonstrate that stakeholder interests and locality characteristics can limit the potential to achieve a just distribution within localities.

6.2 DECENTRALISATION IN TOWER HAMLETS COUNCIL 1986 TO 1994

The Borough of Tower Hamlets was created from the amalgamation of three small council areas in 1965. In the mid 1980s due to failures of successive Labour administrations, the Liberal Democrats identified latent feelings of nostalgia in the population for smaller governed localities in their populist campaign for local elections (Liberal Democrats, 1984; Drewes, 1995). This position taken by some residents was combined with concern over the inefficient management of council services by the existing Labour administration (*Municipal Journal*, 1987a). This prompted the local Liberal party to promise the electorate more representation by decentralising local government power and services to smaller localities (Liberal Democrats, 1986). When the Liberals won the election in 1986 this manifesto pledge was implemented into the 'decentralisation policy'.

Between 1986 and 1994 Tower Hamlets had a unique governance structure; defined as 'decentralised' (LBTH, Decentralisation, 1986). A similar method of local government was undertaken with varying success, in other local authorities prior to the attempt in Tower Hamlets. A less radical model was used in these instances in the London Borough of Islington *(Local Government Chronicle*, 1987) and outside London in Walsall and Southampton (Pickstock 1987; *Municipal Journal*, 1987b). In the case of Tower Hamlets, decentralisation meant that most key functions and responsibilities were divided into seven localities called 'neighbourhoods' set out in Map 6.1. Neighbourhoods had specific boundaries and exercised autonomy over services in their areas, acting as miniature local authorities. This was due to the system of devolved political power and financial control at the neighbourhood level. Elected councillors and council officers were responsible for all local government services in their locality, including council housing services. Only a few functions were maintained centrally (LBTH, Decentralisation, 1986).

The nature of decentralisation in Tower Hamlets led to the development of individual corporate identities in each of the seven local neighbourhoods (LBTH, D Team, 1986). Each neighbourhood had distinct coloured corporate emblem[35]. Very different committee structures evolved in each neighbourhood, which emphasised local democracy and increased consultation for local residents (Lowe, 1992). Political devolution resulted in a system of local political representation, where the majority political party in a locality governed neighbourhoods (Stoker et al., 1991: 375-77). This meant that Labour councillors ruled some neighbourhoods even though they were the minority party in the borough as a whole. Local control produced a new type of empowered governance for council officers (Stoker et al., 1991) and residents (Lowery et al., 1992). The status of neighbourhoods as organisations within the borough was accepted as beneficial for local democracy and service delivery. This was demonstrated in relatively high average satisfaction levels of council services after the introduction of decentralisation in Tower Hamlets. In 1990 the average satisfaction rate in the borough was 43%, compared to an average to 38% for other London boroughs.

[35] These were used for a variety of things from stationery and tenant handbooks, to the colour of public buildings e.g. estate offices, street lighting, and equipment such as borough vehicles. This was an expression of the individual identity of the seven localities.

Map 6.1 Tower Hamlets Ward Boundaries and Neighbourhood Localities 1986-1994

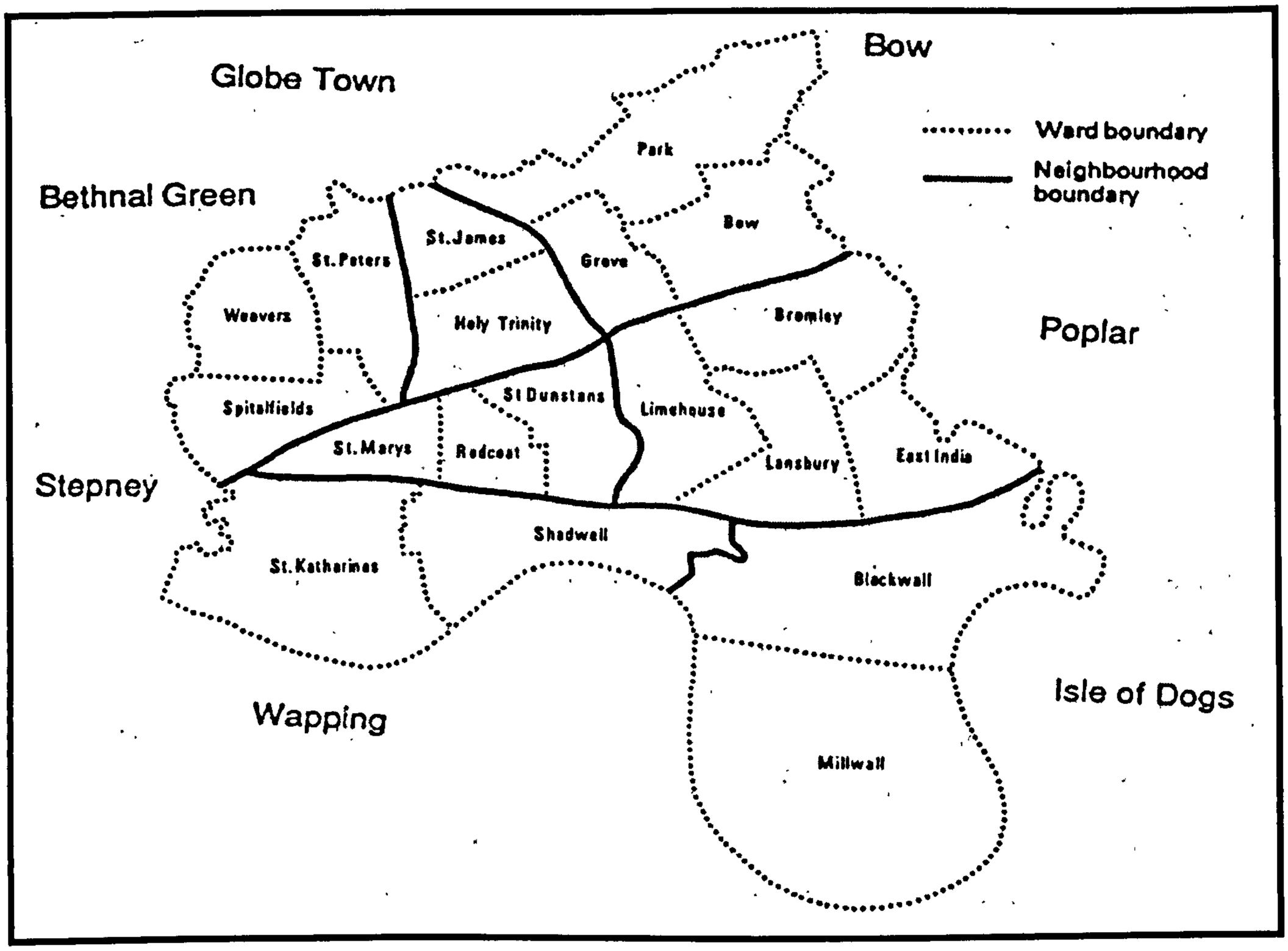
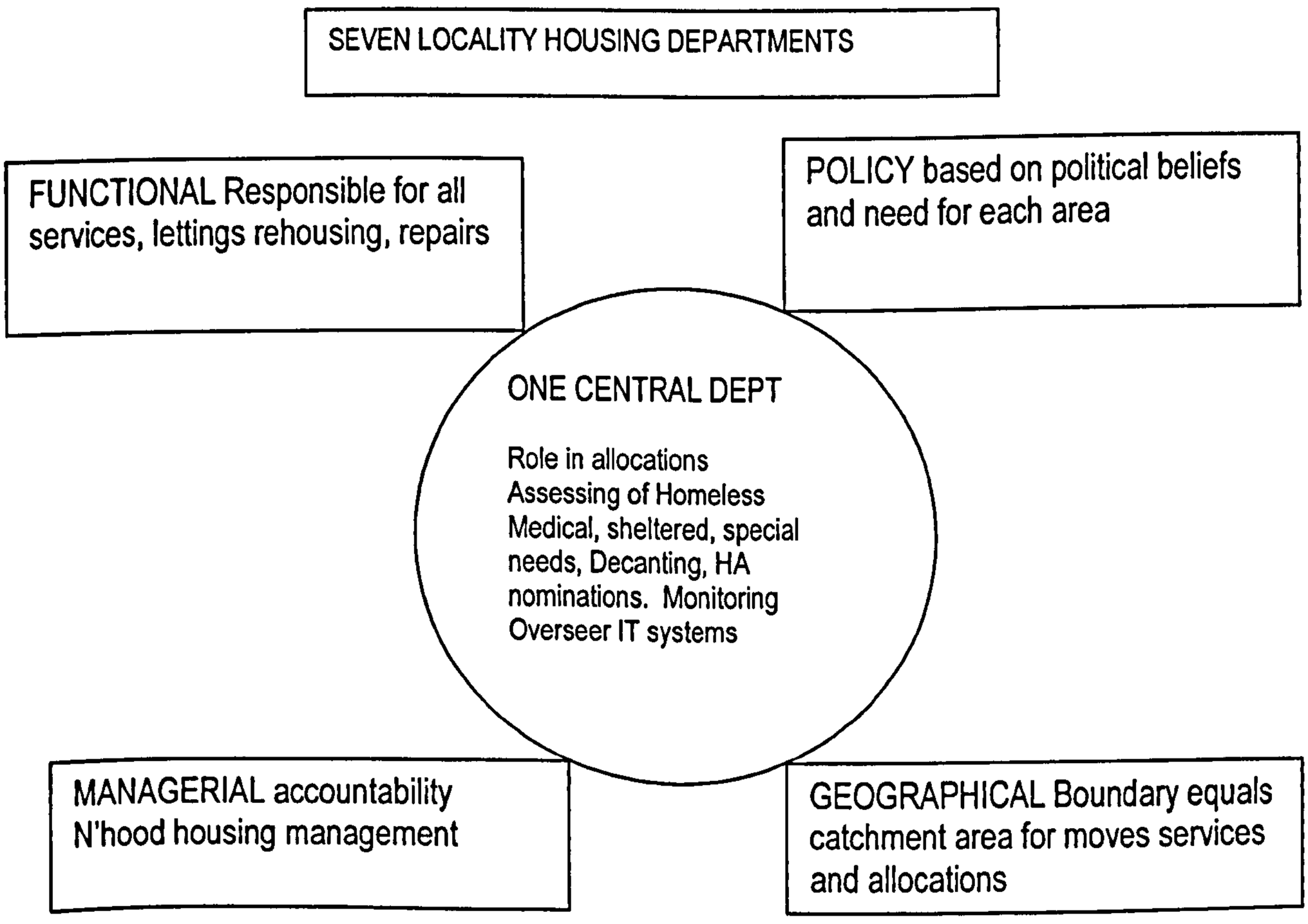


Figure 6.1. Functions of Housing Decentralisation in Tower Hamlets 1986 to 1994



The individual administrations and characteristics in the localities were reflected by varied satisfaction rates that ranged between 35% and 71% (MORI, 1990). Although neighbourhoods had political autonomy combined with financial independence, for the purpose of recording or returning figures and in discharging statutory responsibilities, the council was recognised as a single administrative locality by central government (Lowndes, 1992; Lowe, 1992).

6.2.1 Housing Decentralisation 1986-1994

Tower Hamlets had 50,000 council properties in 1986. Councillor Flounders, leader of the ruling Liberal political party, argued that the bureaucracy and administration involved in managing this system was too difficult to provide an efficient system (*Municipal Journal*, 1987a: 300). For Councillor Founders, justification for decentralisation was illustrated by the problems in running the council housing department, which in his opinion were insurmountable. This is captured in the following quote:

> "There has never been control over the huge inefficient departments. The only logical thing is to break them down. People who say to me that dividing things into seven makes for inefficiency have obviously never ever dealt with our housing department; one huge department with 50,000 properties and it absolutely cannot cope. There is no way that any administration can cope with 50,000 properties" (*Municipal Journal*, 1987a: 301).

Thus the radical restructuring of council housing was undertaken. The main task in decentralising housing was to devolve housing management and develop new service delivery patterns. A senior union representative for housing staff, reported that housing officers were concerned about the fast rate of change to decentralisation (Walker, 1987). Particularly, as the pace of events did not provide sufficient time to adequately plan for new decentralised services.

Decentralisation resulted in major changes to the way housing was organised in the borough. Figure 6.1 outlines the functions of housing decentralisation in Tower Hamlets. Local housing departments maintained their own housing stock and undertook lettings to waiting and transfer applicants in their areas. Many housing services were further decentralised, to local offices on housing estates.

Decentralisation had important implications for the management and administration of the allocations systems. Each neighbourhood had their own policy committee that influenced and promoted local housing priorities. The centre retained a small number of functions but with very little policy power. For the letting of property, this included allocations for sheltered, elderly, medical housing and transfers moving outside the borough. Special administration of the statutory assessment of applicants as homeless and the provision of temporary accommodation also remained centralised in a single homeless unit (LBTH, Housing Sub Committee, 1986e)[36]. The centre also retained a policy co-ordination role. This was limited to co-ordinating borough-wide policy, such as setting the framework for the priority system and statutory responses such as the Housing Investment Plan. Connected to this limited policy function was an information function involving oversight of the computerised lettings system and evaluation of monitoring information. Data of allocations administered locally was then sent to the centre for analysis and borough wide comparison with other areas.

Most allocation functions were undertaken fully at the neighbourhood level. The exception was allocation for homeless and medical applicants that were assessed centrally but were offered properties by local housing offices. The development and implementation of housing policy was undertaken at the local level where power had been devolved to officers and elected members (LBTH, Housing Sub Committee, 1986e). The consequence of this system was that local needs took precedent over borough wide objectives (Runnymede Trust, 1993). For example neighbourhoods that allocated properties to the homeless were implementing homeless targets set centrally. However, the parochial nature of the decentralised system often meant targets were not met because neighbourhoods prioritised their own local housing needs above those of the homeless (LBTH, Performance Review, 1993b). Housing decentralisation in the borough involved both the separation of estate management into localities and devolution of responsibilities and policy-making powers at the local level. This combination of elements was unique in the administration of council housing in England during the period 1986 to1994. This was problematic for housing policy as it facilitated the existence of different policy frameworks and organisations in the various localities highlighted in the NDN case study in Chapter 5.

---

[36] The council considered decentralising but were advised by researchers (Groves and Niner 1987: 43) that a dedicated unit, would be more effective in undertaking assessments and assigning temporary housing.

6.3 CONTEXT OF POLITICS AND HOUSING IN TOWER HAMLETS

Prior to the election of the Liberal administration in 1986 there had been several labour administrations. The Labour party had become complacent toward voters who had returned them to power several times (Morphet, 1987). There was an undercurrent of dissatisfaction with council services and within the traditional centralised council system, there was little room for protest (Stoker et al; 1991). This situation was combined with factors such as the inability of the council to negotiate inclusive employment and housing policies for the local population (*Islander*, 1984; 1984; Hollanby, 1990:10-11). Regeneration schemes particularly in the Docklands were leading to large amounts of new house building in the private sector (LDDC, 1990). These schemes unfortunately contained little affordable housing to rent or buy for residents (*The Islander*, 1983; Morphet, 1987: 122). This was difficult for residents to accept; especially those situated next to massive re-developments of luxury housing in the Docklands area. At the same time there was a demand for council housing from an expanding population and a shrinking supply due to the structural changes in the rented sector following the 'right to buy' legislation. In the 1980s Tower Hamlets experienced 8% rise in population, the largest population growth among London boroughs (Jones, 1993). This increased the demand for housing and directed community pressure toward local politicians for solutions to housing shortages.

Politics and race in Tower Hamlets had a turbulent history throughout the two terms of the Liberal administration from 1986 to 1994 (Murshid, 1994). The failure of the ruling Liberal councillors to encourage good community relations and racial harmony was a matter of public record, because of high profile actions by the local authority. This began early in the first administration with the Formal Investigation and the imposition of the NDN by the CRE (CRE, 1988). Early in this administration the local authority announced that it was planning to house homeless families on a boat in the Thames. This caused public alarm and the policy was eventually dropped (Hewett and Adams, 1994). This reaction to housing issues was to set the tone for the unusual, defiant and often contentious policy methods devised as solutions to housing during the Liberal terms in office (Hewett and Adams, 1994).

The political tensions remained throughout the tenure of the first administration, illustrated by another high profile incident prior to the borough elections in 1990. Local Liberal activists produced a fraudulent Labour leaflet that was based on racial stereotypes and incorrect information about council housing. This was exposed and a subsequent enquiry, at a national level by the Liberal party was undertaken. Evidence at the enquiry into councillor's actions demonstrated that the party members pandered to racism to gain political power (Liberal Democrats, 1993: 3, 5). The following excerpt from the enquiry report illustrated this clearly.

> "It (the leaflet) could suggest that Black people are responsible for the problem estates where people such as "Mrs X" (survivors of the blitz) live in fear for their lives. The fact that the image is of a boxer shown in a hostile aggressive stance, gives the impression of pandering to racism" (Liberal Democrats 1993, 147).

In a political campaign fought mainly on council housing allocation, that included negative suggestions and racist links to ethnic communities, the leaflet was detrimental to racial harmony in the borough[37]. The enquiry concluded that the action of party members actions were divisive for the community. The enquiry suggested that the Liberal administration had increased feelings of tension between the council and the ethnic community and this had adversely affected the political climate in the borough (Liberal Democrats, 1993: 119, 121). These were public acknowledgements of the failures of the Liberal administration to encourage acceptable ideas of community harmony and prioritise universal views of social justice.

The local authority's recourse to the courts to ensure that pluralist notions of local justice were paramount over universal notions of justice has been discussed in the previous chapter. Evidence of this prioritisation of local views of justice was not just confined to the case of the NDN, but was seen in other allocation matters; two examples provide further context to issues of housing and race in the borough. One example is the authority's policy of evicting 'intentionally homeless' families from temporary accommodation in 1987[38]. The evictions related to families who had been

---

[37]Councillor's Jim Smith, Betty Wright and John Snooks (Mayor) had been accused of racist behaviour by a petition of 300 members of the local party. However, they refused to co-operate in writing or to attend the enquiry (para 143, 147.)

[38] The council originally attempted to evict 90 families, mainly Bangladeshi, but eventually evicted 17 families (Runnymede Trust, 1991).

separated abroad. These were applicants that had been accepted as homeless by the council according to the statutory universal criteria in the *Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977*. However, by leaving their country of origin (mainly Bangladesh) to join their settled spouses or dependants in Britain, the council ruled they had left reasonable accommodation making themselves intentionally homeless. In this situation, they were not entitled to housing under Part III of the *Housing Act 1985*. Later the council initiated a policy of confirming the immigration status of all housing applicants, checking their passports and denying homeless status to those who had not had their final stay approved by the Home Office (Runnymede Trust, 1991). This had a direct affect by deterring ethnic minority applicants and those born outside the UK, particularly the dependants of homeless applicants.

Interpreting homeless legislation in this way produced a very narrow remit for assessing homeless applicants. These new definitions by council officials reduced the statutory homeless numbers, and cut costs of homeless temporary housing for the authority. The housing department policy denied a fundamental human need to disadvantaged applicants, categorising some as undeserving of a council home based on principles of desert and right. The CRE condemned the council's position, as going beyond the acceptable remit of a housing official's duty (Legal Action, 1993). This followed a consistent pattern of unfair treatment of homeless applicants identified by the CRE (1988). Subsequently these policies were challenged in the courts and overturned.

A final act of the Liberal administration that left a legacy of racial disharmony was the transfer of the homeless persons department in November 1993. It was moved from a racially diverse central location in Bethnal Green locality, to a part of the borough dominated by the White population. This new location in the Isle of Dogs locality was difficult to access in the southern extreme of the borough. The area was less well served by public transport than the previous location. At the time of the departments move, Tower Hamlets had 941 persons registered as homeless, and over half of these were of Bangladeshi origin (Hewett and Adams, 1994: 5).

The new location on the Isle of Dogs had an extremely unpleasant history of racial attacks. In 1989 the Docklands Forum reported that the area had the highest number of reported attacks in Docklands (Docklands Forum, 1990). A strong presence of British National Party (BNP) supporters had resulted in residents electing a BNP councillor two months previously in September. Council housing policy was a sensitive issue that had created divisive feelings in the locality during campaigning and after local elections (Liberal Democrats, 1993: 12). The election campaign of the BNP were based on a mis-representation of facts council housing allocations to Black and Asians homeless were at the expense of local White applicants. These claims were unfounded and subsequently publicly refuted (Runnymede Trust, 1993). In contrast, research by the Docklands Forum found that Black people were underrepresented in social housing in the area (*Evening Standard*, 1993).

The Isle of Dogs was seen as a hostile area for ethnic minorities (Runnymede Trust, 1993: 39-41). The move of the homeless unit was therefore seen as discriminating against minority groups (Hewett, and Adams 1994: 38). Travelling to the locality for homeless assessments was particularly arduous for Black and Asian housing applicants. A journalist in the Asian media reported that most applicants experienced a long and frightening journey by public transport to their assessment Homeless Unit (*Eastern Eye*, 1993). Baumgartner and Nilsson (1991) argue that localities exhibit a moral order. This moral order of a location contributes to the perceptions of both the environment and the interactions taking place there. Certain localities would therefore predispose applicants to feel that decisions about their homeless situations were likely to be unfair because of the reputation of the area. Local campaigning groups, Tower Hamlets Homeless Campaign agreed with this position stating that the decision to re-locate was designed to reduce the number of homeless applicants seeking assessment (Inside Housing, 1993). This did have an unfair impact as initially Black and Asian applicants were deterred from travelling to the Isle of Dogs because of the hostile and intolerant nature of the area.

In summary, the context of housing in Tower Hamlets was one of various tensions. At the time, Tower Hamlets council challenged the assumption that council housing should be managed bureaucratically from a central administration. Instead, decentralising services and prioritising housing on the basis of local need. This

produced a poor equal opportunity record for some housing applicants during the late 1980s. Politicians were inclined to look for factors that detracted from their inability to negotiate or influence the regeneration system, controlled by private developers and the London Dockland Development to other local explanations. This resulted in blaming and targeting immigrant and ethnic communities as the causes of housing problems and shortages. Competition for housing resources in the neighbourhood localities became an important political issue, which often conflicted with universal justice issues in relation to race and housing need. The political climate strongly influenced by the Liberal party fostered mistrust and resentment, allowing the emergence of the racist BNP to gain a local election seat in 1993. This provided a short-lived, but poignant symbol of public tensions in housing between stakeholders and problems in developing and implementing allocation policy. Thus, legitimising the CRE's earlier interventions in the borough between 1988 and 1992 and highlighting the importance of social justice in distribution in the various localities.

6.4 REPRESENTATION OF STAKEHOLDERS AND POLICY DIFFERENCE IN TOWER HAMLETS LOCALITIES

In the introduction to housing in Chapter 3, five groups of actors were identified as being involved in housing allocation policy. These were:

1. Claimants for social goods (applicants for housing);
2. Institutional staff (housing officials);
3. Political actors (Councillors);
4. External agencies (Public Bodies, CRE, courts and central government);
5. Groups forming public opinion (including community groups, the media and academic commentators).

The roles of different stakeholders in the distribution of public goods are identified as being based on their interpretation of justice in the allocation process (Table 3.3). In this chapter the discussion of stakeholders is concerned with the actions that occurred as a result of their different views of justice. The importance of the relationship between actors and policy for this study is taken from the work of Marsh and Rhodes (1992a; 1992b). Their work on policy networks explains the significance of

stakeholder behaviour in influencing policy to meet their justice aims. The idea of networks is useful for expressing the amount of control and power some groups have to negotiate policy change. Rhodes's and Marsh's (1992a; 1992b) analysis is useful for understanding the relationship of stakeholders in the allocation process in Tower Hamlets as it focuses on behaviour influenced by pluralist views and interests (Rhodes and Marsh, 1992b: 201). Work by Roche (1998) recognises that specific influence affect stakeholder actions. These actions can be described as taking place within different settings and locations which each exert different influences (Roche, 1998: 174). For example, motivations, incentives and rewards influence stakeholders based in organisations so that they behave in a particular way.

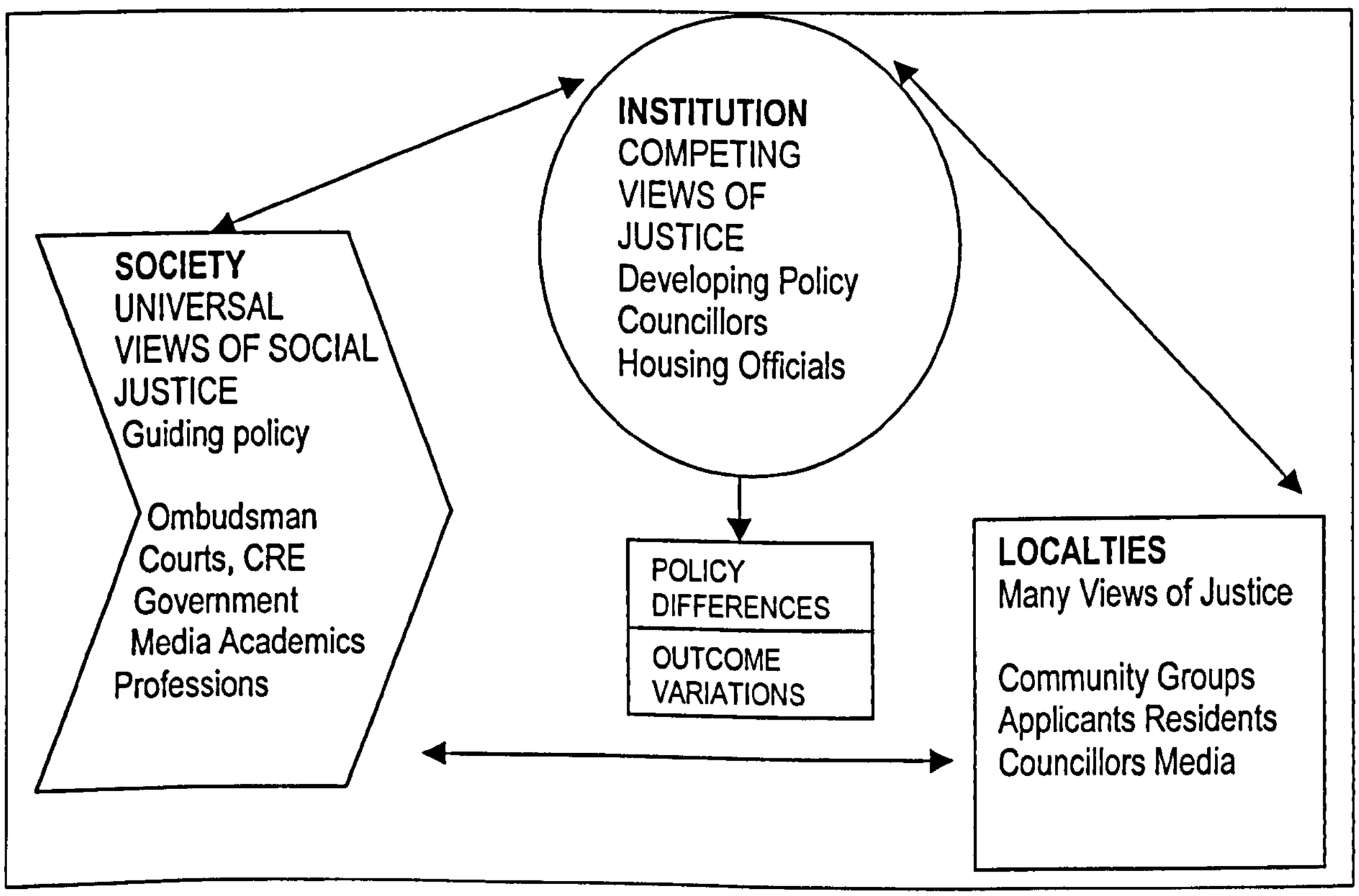
Table 6.1 conceptualises the role of individual stakeholders in this chapter. The table consists of three columns. Column 1 is a list of the different stakeholder groups. Column 2 identifies the general actions in the allocation process as being concerned with a specific area of policy. Column 3 identifies stakeholder groups active in the allocation policy to be discussed in the case studies.

Chapter 3 also discussed the function of allocation policy, introducing this as a process that delivers the various aims and objectives of council housing. Within this process I argue that a series of interactions occur. These interactions can be classified using Ostrom's (1986) 'arenas' of debate. Ostrom argues that there are three arenas of action: inside the institution represented by Tower Hamlets housing department; the localities of the borough and outside in the wider society. Two theoretical writers provide further explanations of the process of allocation in Tower Hamlets. Blom-Hansen (1977) argues that it is necessary to combine theory about policy networks and actors interests in order to explain policy rather than just describe policy outcomes (1977: 672). For stakeholders in Tower Hamlets this is relevant for understanding the behaviour that takes place in the localities and why particular locations may have different moral characteristics (Baumgartner and Nilsson, 1991). For Blom-Hansen (1977) power and the dynamics of the political processes were important in explaining the different outcomes of policy. These contributions to the analysis of the role of stakeholders in influencing policy are used to explain just outcomes in the three case studies.

Table 6.1 Stakeholders Actions in the Allocation Policy Arenas

ARENA	ROLE IN ALLOCATION	STAKEHOLDERS IN TOWER HAMLETS
SOCIETY	EXTERNAL AGENCIES– Regulatory, advisory or monitoring duty toward the institution	Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), Dept of Environment, Law Courts, Institute of Housing
INSTITUTION	HOUSING STAFF - Allocating goods, services, resources	Estate officers, housing home visitors, assessment staff, allocations officers
INSTITUTION AND LOCALTIES	POLITICIANS - Maximising resources to ensure policy objectives are met	Elected Councillors, Senior Housing Managers
LOCALTIES	APPLICANTS - Waiting requesting scarce goods	Applicants waiting for new housing or a transfer
LOCALTIES AND SOCIETY	LOCAL OPINION - Campaigning about particular characteristics of a policy or a particular policy's intent or outcome	Opinion about Specific housing Schemes, their criteria or procedures or access/outcomes for certain groups

Figure 6.2 The Arenas of Action and Stakeholders Positions in Housing Allocation



A theoretical framework linking the ideas of stakeholders and localities is presented in Figure 6.2. This illustrates the groups of actors involved in developing allocation policy in Tower Hamlets within the three arenas. The model relies on a structural analysis of the allocation process; thus it may appear to show that the allocation process flows smoothly from stage to stage. Valid criticisms of this explanation are based on the fact that housing allocation policy is a contested area and is influenced by various stakeholders situated in the three arenas. Figure 6.2 represents the environment of policy development and is a useful way to explain the nature and levels of interaction amongst stakeholders in the case studies in Tower Hamlets.

The figure begins with the wider society and universal justice views based in organisations that monitor and guide just principles for allocation policy. In this case, these are the ombudsman, the courts, media reports and academic debates. This is followed by a representation of stakeholders' influence on the institutional arena, which comprises the central and decentralised housing departments, this is the main location where most of the action on policy occurs. The localities in the borough form another arena where policy conflicts are made public. Results of policy change are illustrated in the last box in Figure 6.2. The remainder of this chapter takes a case study approach to investigate how stakeholders' views in the different arenas can influence the policy process and affect fairness in the outcome of allocations.

6.4.1 Stakeholders and Implementation of Social Justice in Housing Allocation

Three case studies of policy differentiation among stakeholders are investigated here. Each case study elucidates the role of particular groups of stakeholders in contesting policy in different localities of the borough. They address two general research questions about stakeholders and housing allocation policy in Tower Hamlets. First, what role do stakeholders play in the interpretation and the negotiation of housing outcomes for justice? Second, how important are local characteristics in shaping social justice for localities? The discussion of factors and groups in the case studies emphasises particular dimensions of social justice in particular localities. The case study discussion of locality differences in housing will be based on the stakeholder model and theoretical contributions outlined in section 6.3. The model is used as a

method of assessing the influence of groups on policy change. It illustrates how stakeholder groups interact, in the allocation process and suggests how policy differentiation maybe evaluated. The section will conclude with an overview of observations and outcomes identified from the case studies.

Table 6.2 sets out how the major issues investigated in the selected case studies. Column 3 outlines debates in housing allocation connected to case studies selected and the periods associated with them are set out in column 1. Column 4 lists the stakeholders involved in housing issues. The last column introduces the policy solution achieved to resolve issue.

Table 6.2 Case Studies and Issues of Housing

YEAR	CASE STUDY	MAIN ISSUES AFFECTING HOUSING	MAIN STAKEHOLDERS	HOW ISSUE RESOLVED
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1984-87 ACCESS TREATMENT	A	Poor quality of estates and areas offered to Bengalis. Treatment of Homeless applicants	Housing Staff – GLC External groups- CRE, Central government Local opinion Community groups	CRE Formal Investigation and NDN
1987-1993 NEEDS AND OUTCOMES	B	Sons and Daughters Housing Scheme CRE concerns about racial discrimination and outcomes	Councillors Housing Officers External bodies –CRE, Courts Local Opinion -Residents	Changes in Implementation of policy in localities
1994 SPATIAL POLICY	C	Inter neighbourhood moves policy	Councillors External bodies -Housing ombudsman	Re-organisation into central allocations with 4 localities

All the case studies selected cover different periods and aspects of social justice connected to various locality policies in the borough. Case study (A) illustrates access to housing for the Bangladeshis in the Spitalfields area and begins the focus on locality demands and differing needs in the borough. Case study (B), the 'Sons and Daughters Housing Scheme', is an example of differentiation of housing policy and outcomes during the NDN period which was problematic for locality policy. Case study (C) is concerned with residential mobility and tenants ability to move across the neighbourhood boundaries in the borough this is considered throughout the decentralisation period.

6.5 CASE STUDY A: ACCESS TO HOUSING FOR BANGLADESHIS 1984– 87.

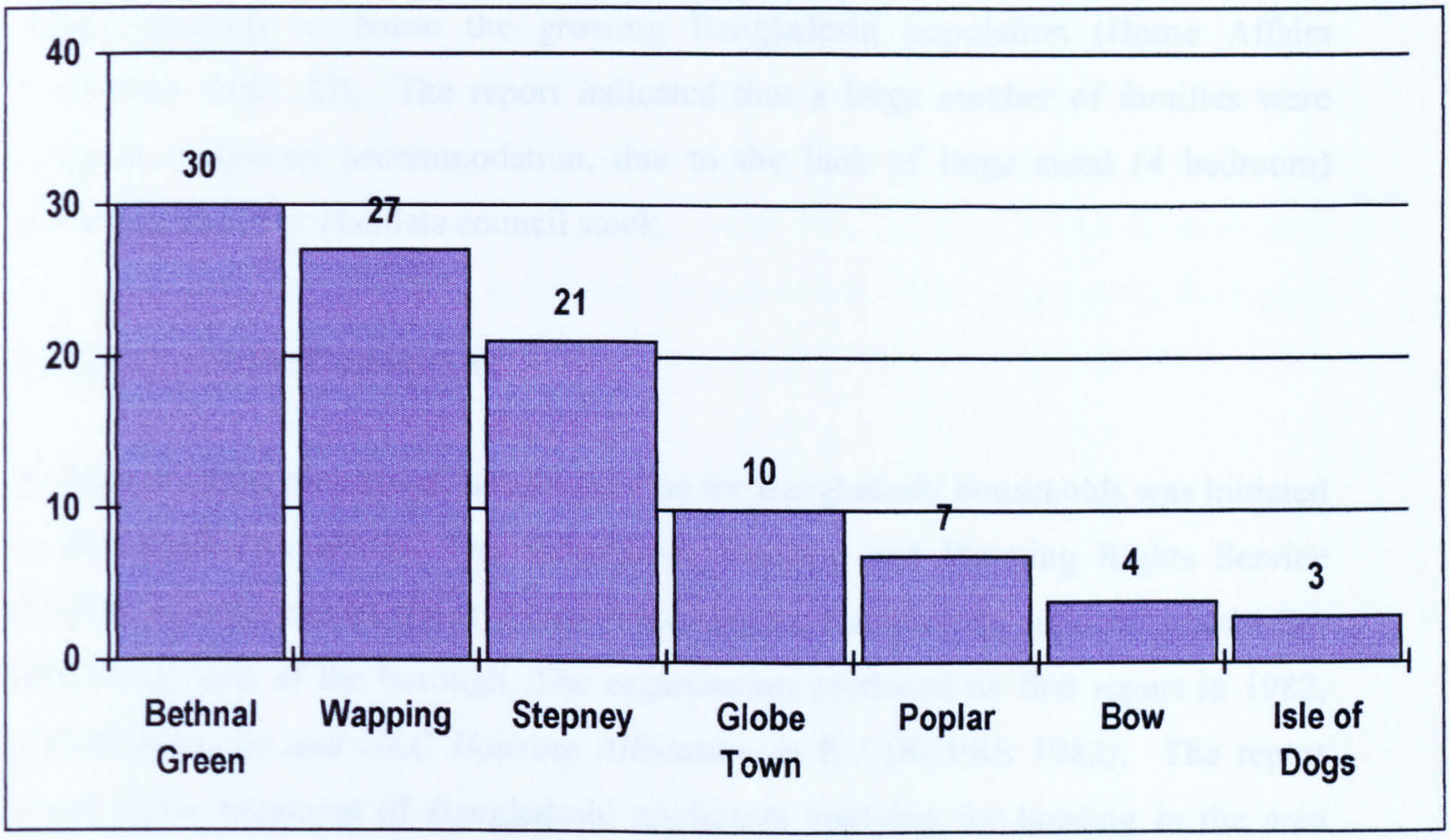
During the 1980s housing for the Bangladeshi community was an important issue for Tower Hamlets (Eade, 1990). People of Bangladeshi origin were the largest single ethnic minority in Tower Hamlets. The population was increasing faster than other groups due to higher birth rates; consequently, they had larger proportions of school age children. The effects of migration due to Bangladesh families settling and reuniting in the borough intensified the pressure on housing (Home Affairs Committee, 1987). The growing Bangladeshi population increased demands for housing and this situation forced many families to occupy sub standard housing. In the borough, three times as many (6%) of ethnic minority households (defined as New Commonwealth and West Pakistani (NCWP) were not in self-contained accommodation, where they were more likely to be lacking or sharing facilities. This is compared to 2% of all households.

6.5.1 Introduction to Bangladeshi Housing Needs in the mid 1980s

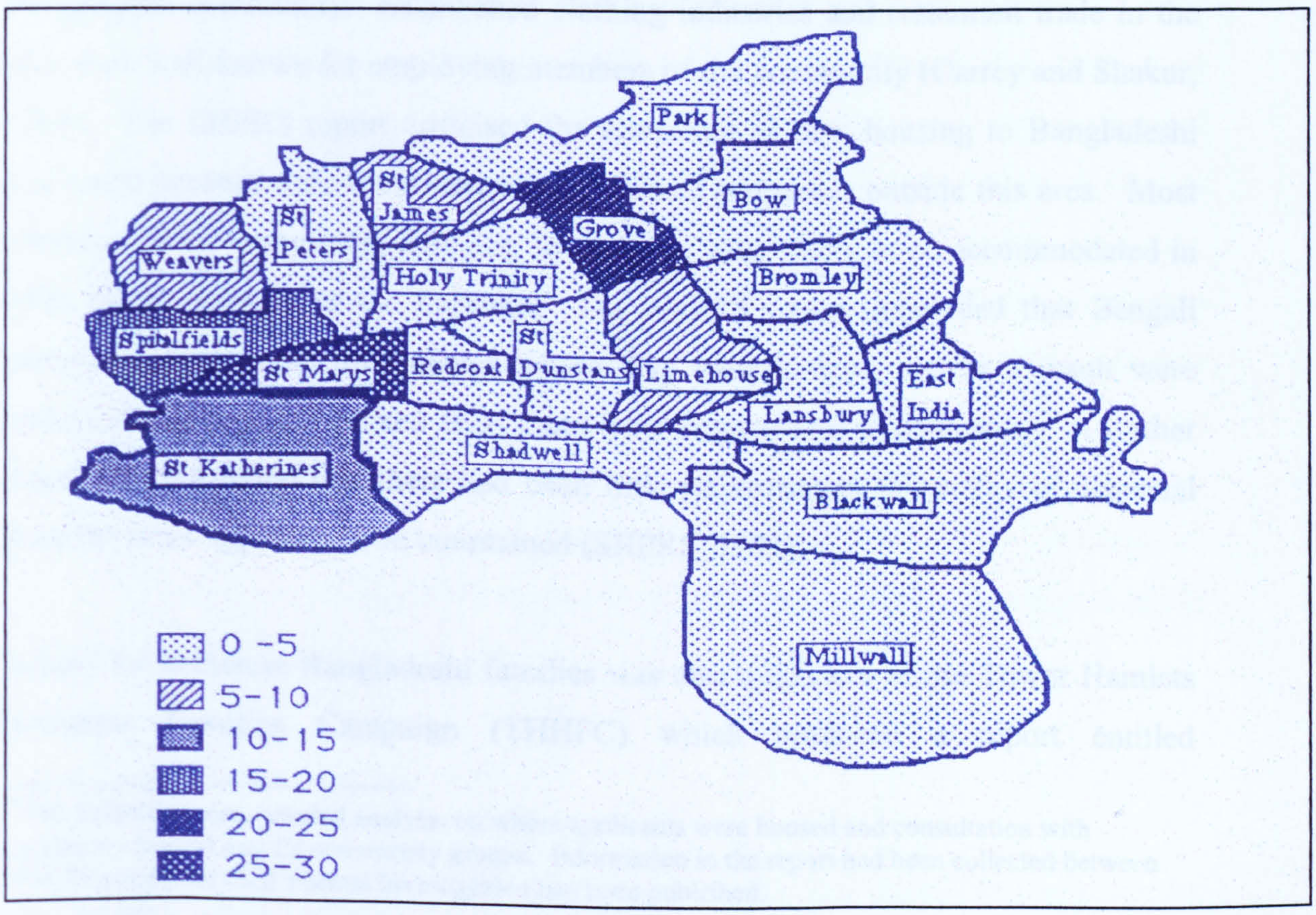
This case study focuses on the Spitalfields ward in Bethnal Green neighbourhood. The ward covered the E.1 postal area that was the centre of the Bangladeshi community. Bethnal Green locality was one of three localities where the Bangladeshi populations were strongly concentrated. The other two localities were Wapping (27%) and Stepney (21%), with other areas having very small populations, see Figure 6.3. At the time of the 1981 census 63% of the Spitalfields ward population was born in the NCWP. On comparative census indicators, these households were the most overcrowded in the country. The ward also had high levels of unemployment and deprivation recognised by the local authority (LBTH, Planning, 1984). A national composite measure of health used for Health Authority comparisons also identified high health needs in E.1 Spitalfields (Tower Hamlets Health Authority, 1988).

Census data showed there was a higher proportion of private rented accommodation in Spitalfields compared to other wards, most of these dwellings were found to be of poor quality (Home Affairs Committee 1987: 36). Map 6.2 shows that a quarter of households in the ward lived in accommodation that lacked one or more basic amenities such as heating or hot water.

Figure 6.3 1985* Bangladeshi Population in Tower Hamlets Neigbourhoods
***Based on LRC Estimates. Source: LBTH Planning, 1984**



Map 6.2 1981 Tower Hamlets Households Lacking 1 Or More Basic Amenities
Source: 1981 Census



General features of housing for the Bangladeshi community at the time were poor quality accommodation in the private rented sectors and high demand for council housing. This was confirmed by a parliamentary report that argued that there was urgent necessity to house the growing Bangladeshi population (Home Affairs Committee 1987: 33). The report indicated that a large number of families were living in temporary accommodation, due to the lack of large sized (4 bedroom) properties in Tower Hamlets council stock.

6.5.2 Arena of the Community

Awareness of the problem of housing access for Bangladeshi households was initiated in the community arena. The Spitalfields Housing and Planning Rights Service (SHPRS) was concerned about access to housing for Bangladeshi applicants in the E.1 Spitalfields area of the borough. The organisation produced its first report in 1982, entitled *Bengalis and GLC Housing Allocation in* E.*1* (SHPRS 1982*)*. The report found unfair treatment of Bangladeshi applicants applying for housing in the area through the Greater London Council[39] (which had previously managed most council housing). The E.1 locality had strong social, cultural and employment links with the Bangladeshi community. Established clothing industries and restaurant trade in the area were well known for employing members of the community (Carrey and Shakur, 1985). The SHPRS report criticised the allocation of new housing to Bangladeshi applicants because they were increasingly offered properties outside this area. Most members of the community applying for housing were likely to be accommodated in other postal districts of the borough. The SHPRS report concluded that Bengali applicants were given little choice where they were housed, and as a result were systematically being dispersed away from their original area of settlement. A further report in 1984 found that there had been little improvement the policy of dispersal from the areas appeared to be maintained (SHPRS, 1984).

Access for homeless Bangladeshi families was also a concern of the Tower Hamlets Homeless Families Campaign (THHFC) which produced a report entitled

[39] The SHPRS report included analysis on where applicants were housed and consultation with community leaders and 22 community groups. Information in the report had been collected between 1986-87 before the CRE Formal Investigation had been published.

Homelessness in the Borough: A Report 1984 (THHFC, 1984). This provided detail treatment of applicants who had applied to the housing department as homeless. The difficult conditions experienced by some of these applicants, who were housed in temporary accommodation, was cited by the CRE in their formal report on homelessness in the borough (CRE, 1988). These reports were influential in that they were instrumental in setting the framework for CRE investigation and universal notions of justice. The territorial justice issues of poor quality accommodation in some areas and the inequality in housing allocation were also examined in the Formal Investigation by the CRE (CRE, 1988: 28).

6.5.3 Institutional Arena

The work of SHPRS and THHC groups had two major impacts in the arena of the institutions. It prompted the GLC, the largest social landlord in the borough, to commission an investigation into the allocation system and its effects on ethnic communities in the borough. Deborah Phillips undertook this work between January 1983 and May 1984 (Phillips, 1986). This time period was important, as she was able to assess allocation procedures in terms of offers made to estates mentioned in the SHPRS report. Ethnicity was determined on the basis of applicants' names, as there was little ethnic recording (Phillips, 1986: 9). Phillips found that there were disproportionate allocations to poor GLC estates confirming some spatial dispersal of the community. Her research was decisive in identifying that Bangladeshi applicants were systematically allocated to particular estates in the borough (Phillips, 1986: 23). In additon, her work provided the CRE with important historical evidence of injustice in the council housing system. Evidence of this was borne out by the Formal Investigation that corroborated her findings. Only some of the report's recommendations were implemented. Later, the imposition of the Non Discrimination Notice provided a solution to addressing some of the problems of dispersal, which included staff training on racial harassment and improved procedures for offering properties.

6.5.4 Arena of the Wider Society

The housing situation for Bangladeshi in the borough, and Spitalfields in particular

became a matter of government concern after the publication of the reports. In 1986, the parliamentary Home Affairs Committee investigated the disadvantages suffered by the Bangladeshi population living in the borough[40]. The Home Affairs Committee report probed the socio-economic factors of Bangladeshi community providing background information to their high housing demands. Details of the Committee's findings were compiled in the *Bangladeshis in Britain First Report* (Home Affairs Committee, 1987).

The report devoted a specific section to housing in the borough noting that 80% of homeless people and 90% of families in bed and breakfast accommodation were Bangladeshi (Home Affairs Committee, 1986: par 24-36) [41]. Most bed and breakfast accommodation was often unsuitable and detrimental to health. Later research confirmed that this left a lasting legacy of poor health for families housed after living in poor temporary accommodation (Collard, 1995). The report identified the reluctance of Bangladeshi applicants to accept accommodation, east of the borough, highlighting the importance of geographical location for Bangladeshi applicants. This extract summarises the problems faced by the community:

> "There is evidence that Bangladeshis have tended to be offered housing on Tower Hamlets' worst estates. This is to be investigated by the CRE, so we make no comment here. We note that the choices available to Bangladeshis would be widened if progress was made in dealing with racial attacks and thereby reducing the fear which discourage many from accepting dwellings in the eastern parts of the borough." (Home Affairs Committee, 1986: par 36).

The statement on the work of the CRE referred to the Formal Investigation that was taking place in the borough. This demonstrated that policy networks between the parliamentary committee and the CRE were being used to build coalitions for a consistent solution for housing discrimination and disadvantage in the borough. (Home Affairs Committee, 1987). Their similar interest worked together as they were based on a consensus view of universal egalitarian principles of justice. The CRE investigated one person's complaint as the initial impetus for action, taking forward a

---

[40] The committee's duty involved probing public organisations on public expenditure associated with finance from central government.

[41] Housing was an important issue for Bangladeshi, detailed in section 3, paragraphs (par.) 24 to 36 in report.

single grievance to prove discrimination on behalf of a whole community.

The role of the CRE in the Borough has been covered in detail in the previous chapter. A short summary of the findings of the CRE's Formal Investigation will be made here. The concerns over poor housing quality for the Bangladeshis were demonstrated throughout the report. Detailed investigation confirmed that discriminatory practices existed and were contributing to the disadvantaged position of the Bangladeshi applicants. For example the report identified that Bangladeshis in the E.1 area were being allocated to particular estates and that the pattern and reason for these allocation decisions were not made on clear procedural grounds. Decisions to allocate housing were based on assumptions about area preferences and about acceptable standards of housing for the community (CRE, 1988: 36, 48).

In terms of area of settlement, the CRE found that the highest refusal rate for property was on the Isle of Dogs, which had a well-known record of racial intolerance and attacks (Phillips 1988; Eade 1989). The real fear of racial attacks and the inability of the council to deal with this were cited as the main barrier to applicants accepting housing away from the area. The CRE later published guidelines on racial harassment in housing, called *Living in Terror* (CRE, 1987). The report cited an example in 1984 of White tenants in the borough, lobbying the GLC to prevent Bangladeshi families from being housed on their council estate (*op cit.*, 25). This report was important for Bangladeshi housing location as it publicly acknowledged that the problem of area selection was an issue for the community.

The shared concerns of community groups over the spatial effects of housing allocations for Bangladeshi was important in shaping the ideas about justice and housing inequalities. As stakeholders, their actions in placing access for the Bangladeshi community on the housing allocation agenda was pivotal to initiate local and national debate. This provided impetus for engagement of stakeholders from national level institutions, such as the CRE and it helped to set the agenda for policy intervention.

6.6 CASE STUDY B: ACCESS TO HOUSING FOR DIFFERENT GENERATIONS OF LOCAL FAMILIES 1987-94.

6.6.1 Operationalising the Scheme: Actions in the Housing Department

On the election of the Liberal councillors as the majority party in 1986, one of the new administration's tasks was the setting up of a 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' for housing allocation. The background strategy report for the scheme suggested four possible advantages; ease of lettings; promotion of stable estate communities; preventing young people leaving the borough; and helping the occupation of low demand properties (LBTH, Housing Sub Committee, 1986b). These aims appealed to wider housing and political objectives of the Liberal party and residents who had voted for them. The scheme was implemented in January 1988. Applicants needed to qualify on the following criteria to be eligible for the scheme:

- They required parents that were residents of the borough;
- proof of living in the borough for at least one year; and
- applicants needed to be aged over 18 and with no children.

Applicants were initially assessed as part of a group waiting for housing and assigned to the 'sons and daughters' category on request. This was a low need category within the councils' priority system (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992d). However, a further assessment was then made of an applicant's individual housing circumstances. The applicant was then assigned to one of three categories based on whether a person was lacking one or more bedrooms, or sharing a bedroom. Extra points could then be awarded for years of residence in the borough.

Offers of properties were subject to the following restrictions:

- Only 1 offer of accommodation would be made to applicants;
- Only low demand properties would be included in the scheme (e.g. high floors);
- Only smaller properties, bedsits, 1bedroom and 2 bedrooms were available;
- Finally, refusal of an offer led to re-assessment and possible withdrawal.

The strategy report included an explanation of problems based on historical evidence of schemes in other boroughs (LBTH, Housing Sub Committee, 1986). Housing staff opposed the scheme after describing problems and injustices inherent in its operation. The following quote is clear on this point:

> "Such schemes work to the advantage of the established (generally White) community, and therefore to the detriment of more recently arrived, often ethnic minority, residents, whose children are young and as such eligible (LBTH, Housing Sub Committee, 1986b).

Indirect discrimination against Asian applicants was highly probable. The population profile demography of the Bangladeshi community meant that there was a smaller proportion of potential single applicants aged between 18 and 29 years old compared to the White community.

Another issue of concern was that the scheme allowed priority points to be awarded for each year of residence, up to a maximum of 20 years. This caused alarm, because most White applicants had lived in the borough all their lives, entitling them to receive maximum residency points. Without these additional points many of the White applicants would have less chance of being housed in the council system. Operation of the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' meant White applicants with a low priority for housing had enhanced opportunity of receiving housing.

Asian applicants on the other hand, generally scored higher on housing stress such as overcrowding, and therefore their housing needs were greater, but they tended not to gain high points for years of residence. Thus, Asian applicants tended to receive lower priority points under the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme'. In practice, white 'sons and daughters' applicants had an increased chance of being housed over Asian applicants that were living in worse housing conditions. This supported the argument that 'sons and daughters' applicants would be rehoused at the expense of those with higher needs (LBTH, Housing Sub Committee, 1986b). The potential for disaster was foreseen by the council's own solicitor advising the scheme might be discriminatory contravening section 22 of the *Race Relations Act 1976* (*op. cit.*). Legal advice should have acted as a warning to councillors but the benefits of the scheme for one particular group outweighed justice for other needy groups.

6.6.3 Actions in the Localities

Access for different generations of council tenants became an emergent housing policy issue in 1986. Local Liberal politicians initiated this debate on what they considered to be unmet needs amongst residents that were not addressed by the existing housing policy. Politicians interpreted local needs as requiring a housing policy that would promote stable communities, giving more housing to the indigenous population rather than prioritising the homeless. Initially the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' was presented as a local response to the unequal demands of different communities applying for housing (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992: 4).

In defending the scheme to the media, local councillors tried to deflect attention away from the contention surrounding applicants of the scheme toward outcomes. Councillors contrasted the large proportion of lettings (60%) to homeless applicants, compared to only 2% awarded to applicants of the 'Sons and Daughters Schemes'. Although 'sons and daughters' lettings only accounted for a small proportion of total lettings, they did provide housing to those who otherwise had little chance of being housed. However, councillors were adamant the policy was not racist and that it was based on housing need. This was not supported by the operation of the scheme, which moved away from egalitarian principles of justice to conceptions of justice based on desert.

6.6.4 Implementation of the Scheme in Bethnal Green Neighbourhood 1989

The 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' was not uniformly applied across the localities. Differences in implementation resulted in several models of the scheme. The characteristics of the neighbourhood population were of varying sizes and this factor affected the impact for certain localities. Poplar and Bethnal Green had the largest resident populations. Bethnal Green locality also had the largest population of Bangladeshis in the borough. A year after the scheme was introduced, concerns about the scheme's impact was connected to changes initiated by councillors in this Neighbourhood.

Localised allocation policy meant that Bethnal Green operated a 'variation scheme'

where those waiting for housing could apply for properties that had been refused twice. The policy was extended to include applicants of the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme'. This involved developing a number of target for all yearly lettings that included a specific target for the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' (*Docklands Recorder*, 1989). These targets were not based on housing need but on quotas for the proportion of lettings related to different type of priority groups. In this way, any 'sons and daughters' applicants that were knowledgeable about the council system and estates locations were able to apply for specific properties under the scheme. This was often at the expense of more disadvantaged applicants who were not aware that the properties were available or that they had previously been refused. This elevated the low housing priority status of the scheme to a major and integral part of the allocation system. This was in contrast to the low priority that was initially proposed for the scheme contravening egalitarian principles of need and social justice (LBTH, Housing Sub Committee, 1986b). The locality management team were legally advised that creating this allocation system could contravene the *Race Relations Act 1976*, as White applicants were advantaged and Bangladeshi applicants were less likely to meet the criteria for the scheme (Hewett and Adams, 1994). However the policy went ahead, initially assigning 48 properties to the scheme.

The most influential stakeholders in the events occurring in Bethnal Green were the councillors, acting in the community and neighbourhood institutions. They saw their role as interpreting unmet needs of the local White residents and transforming this into policy. The chairman of the Liberal councillors for the neighbourhood described 'sons and daughters' as a category that had previously been ignored in council housing in the borough (*East London Advertiser*, 1989). Thus, justifying the new scheme as based on the unmet needs of certain groups. This was evident because a new allocation policy was developed that gave 'sons and daughters' a higher chance of being housed. Amendments to the categorisation used to assess applicants ensured that these lower need applicants received a higher priority in the allocation system.

In the local government institution, concerns emerged from the top, the chief executive requested a clear legal framework before operating the scheme. The housing press reported that officers were advised by their union not to implement the

scheme (Inside Housing, 1989). Councillors were again not convinced by legal argument that the scheme would discriminate against Asians, even though they had independent advice from outside the council (*Docklands Recorder*, 1989). The legal advice extended the arguments outside the council into the wider society arena causing intense debate by public opinion stakeholders. Newspapers formed opinion nationally, one article argued against the policy, seeing its formulation as the racialised interpretation of council housing and homelessness in the borough (*The Guardian,* 1989). The Runnymede Trust a public and academic research body in the locality was also against the scheme (Runnymeade Trust, 1989). This was also the case of local media (*Docklands Recorder* 1989, East London Advertiser, 1989) who reported the views of opposing labour councillors to the scheme. The voice of housing applicants was not heard in this debate, although the support of local white residents was observed in the council's survey of the scheme (LBTH, Policy Strategy (1992d: 19). Thus, we see the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' being represented differently by various stakeholders even at the local level.

6.6.5 Different Models of the 'Sons and Daughters Schemes' in 1992

Another feature of the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' was the local variability in it's implementation. By September 1992 there were variations to the scheme in all seven neighbourhoods. Table 6.3 shows allocations to the schemes during 1989-92 broken down by racial groups for each locality. These outcomes are considered in terms of the CRE's argument that the scheme discriminated against Black and Asian applicants. The size of the ethnic population in each locality is an important element in the operation of the scheme. Bethnal Green neighbourhood had the largest ethnic minority population in 1991. This may have contributed to the relatively large number of lettings under the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' in this neighbourhood. A total of 54 'sons and daughters' were housed, which accounted for 4% of all lettings, a figure that supported local councillor's arguments that the numbers were insignificant compared to all lettings. However, when lettings are analysed by ethnic group, Asians received only 2 properties. Thus, the amount of housing received corroborates the CRE's argument that justice is not served for ethnic minorities due to the small number of properties allocated to them.

Further examination of the figures show this pattern was repeated in Stepney where 44% of the population are minorities, but Asian and Black applicants received only one property whilst 16 properties went to White applicants. In Poplar, which has the largest Black population, only 3 properties went to Black applicants, less than Globetown which allocated 4 properties to Black applicants and had a smaller Black population. However Poplar also allocated a small number of properties (4) to White applicants. Globetown on the other hand allocated the largest number of properties to White applicant's (39). In Bow and the Isle of Dogs there were no lettings to minorities. These localities are predominately populated by White residents; 82% and 75% respectively.

Table 6. 3 Lettings to the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' between 1989 and 1992

LOCALITY	NOS.	LETS%	WHITE	WHITE%	ASIAN	ASIAN%	BLACK	BLACK%	OTHER*	OTHER%
BETHNAL GREEN	54	4%	28	52%	2	4%	1	2%	23	42%
BOW	9	1%	9	100%	0	0	0	0	0	0
STEPNEY	18	2%	16	89%	1	6%	1	6%	0	0
ISLE OF DOGS	5	1%	4	80%	0	0	1	20%	0	0
GLOBE TOWN	47	7%	39	83%	1	2%	4	9%	3	6%
POPLAR	34	2%	27	79%	0	0	3	9%	4	12%
WAPPING	3	0%	2	67%	0	0	0	0	1	33%
ALL LOCALTIES	170	2%	125	74%	4	2%	10	6%	23	18%

**Includes either those who refused or those who did not record their ethnicity.

Source: LBTH, Policy Strategy (1992d: 26).

Overall, the number of lettings to ethnic minorities under the scheme was extremely small in three of the seven localities. The Isle of Dogs allocated 5 lettings, Bow 9 lettings while Wapping had housed 3 applicants; all these lettings accounted for 1% or less of local allocations. This left four localities: Stepney, Globe Town, Poplar and Bethnal Green with larger numbers of allocation. However, these schemes had been amended so that they were linked to need or geographical elements.

Stepney's scheme involved only applicants who wished to be housed in a particular property, thus focusing on location to meet the objectives of local family ties. In Globe Town, eligibility depended on whether the applicant was living with their parents; again ensuring that there was a need for housing based on sharing facilities. Poplar neighbourhood housed only 'sons and daughters' who were lacking a bedroom linking their housing application to overcrowding a universal objective of the need for housing.

In Bethnal Green the scheme was an established part of lettings policy. During the period surveyed, 1989 to 1992 the neighbourhood had the largest number of allocations refusing to abandon the scheme. Instead the neighbourhood sought amendments that would be acceptable to the CRE. Housing management agreed that 'sons and daughters' with children of their own could apply, widening eligibility to young families that had previously been excluded. However, the fundamental question of parental qualification and cultural preference remained so that most Bangladeshi 'sons and daughters' did not qualify.

Amendments were introduced to give fairer access to properties, this meant that properties no longer had to be 'refused' on the main register before they were offered under the scheme. For 'sons and daughters' applicants this meant that they did not have the first choice of the best properties or locations. This was an improvement but still meant that a good knowledge of local estates was required, which disadvantaged ethnic minorities. The research on the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' showed that Asian applicants had a very limited knowledge of their housing estates and localities. (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992d: 16).

6.6.6 Institutional Arena: the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' Post 1992

In an attempt to prevent further CRE action, the councils' legal department proposed measures that would amend the scheme to fall well within legal statutes, thereby reflecting universal conceptions of justice. In response, the neighbourhoods introduced some incremental changes that contributed to some of the differentiation in policy formulation in the localities. These were changes to allay CRE concerns,

showing that the scheme was needs based and did not contravene race equality legislation (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992c). Table 6.4 shows key aspects of variability in procedures operated by the various housing localities.

Table 6.4 Differences in 'Sons and Daughters Schemes' after 1992

LOCALITY (1)	PRIORITY SYSTEM (2)	CATEGORY ASSIGNED (3)	ASSESSMENT PROCEDURE (4)
BETHNAL GREEN	6 TARGET GROUPS	WAITING LIST GROUP	Assessed by date order into 1 of 6 groups
BOW	4 TARGET GROUPS	BEDSIST/1 BED OVERCROWDING	Assessed by need and waiting time
STEPNEY	POINTS SYSTEM	6.I WAITING LIST	Assessed using borough points system
ISLE OF DOGS	5 TARGET GROUPS	GENERAL NEED TARGET GROUP OR SPACE TARGET GROUP	Assessed on need basis; using extra points for sharing and a higher space group
GLOBE TOWN	POINTS SYSTEM	6.I SONS AND DAUGHTERS	Assessed using borough points system
POPLAR	8 TARGET GROUPS	GENERAL NEED GROUP	Assessed using borough points system
WAPPING	7 TARGET GROUPS	NONE IF ONLY A SON OR DAUGHTER	Assessed using borough points system

Source: Based on LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1993 and Interviews 1997.

There was variation in the type of priority system used (column 2) the category within the priority system to which they were assigned (column 3), and the assessment procedure used (column 4). All seven localities had different procedures for operating the scheme. This supported Elster's (1992: 62-66) institutional model of justice, that combinations of allocation methods produce different distribution schemes (see Figure 5.1 in Chapter 5). What is relevant about some of these schemes are that changes reflected some of the criticism of the policy. Amendments showed stronger links with need, particularly in Bow and the Isle of Dogs. Secondly, there is less reliance on residence points for assessment. Most schemes use the universal points scheme based on housing need. Any points for time were based on the date of

application in Bethnal Green, or the total time waiting for accommodation (this would be time on the housing register) in Bow. The categories in which the 'sons and daughters' were assigned in the priority system represented different views of achieving justice. Some applicants were assessed as 'overcrowding' cases which had a higher priority and relevance to universal principles of need. Others used the lower categories of 'general needs' and 'sons and daughters' reflecting the position of applicants within a hierarchy of housing priority. The different schemes demonstrated the interpretation of need in each locality and the pluralist views of justice in council housing distribution.

6.6.7 Differences in the Isle of Dogs Locality

After the council's evaluation of the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' in 1992 there was a reduction in the number of allocations. One locality, Isle of Dogs, had a different pattern of lettings to other neighbourhoods showing an increase in allocations. This discussion examines how local politics and geographical position in the Isle of Dogs may explain this locality difference (Hewett and Adams, 1994[42]). Geographically the neighbourhood is separated, situated in the south east of the borough bordered by the River Thames and a major arterial road the A13. Local people referred to themselves as 'islanders' with distinct family and community ties going back several generations. Residents had a strong connection to the area through employment in the London docks based in the area (Runnymede Trust, 1993: 36-37). Historically this isolation had prevented other communities settling in their midst (*City Limits*, 1987). In 1992 a community group called 'Action for Equality' was founded to lobby the council on housing issues for White residents (Hewett and Adams, 1994: section 4). Consequently, under pressure, there was a reduction in homeless lettings from 46% in 1992 to 16% in 1994[43] (LBTH, Isle of Dogs, 1993b). In contrast lettings to local applicants increased from 54% to 84% in the same period.

---

[42] Adams worked as Strategy Manager in the Isle of Dogs Neighbourhood providing unique insights to policy contestation in the Neighbourhood during this period.

[43] Other factors that reduced this figure was drop in the total number of homeless and increased number of allocation made by Housing Association

The 'Sons and Daughters Schemes' was closely tied to politics in the borough and this is demonstrated by the outcomes in the Isle of Dogs locality after 1992. Under the devolved system, the locality was ruled by a Labour administration that opposed the scheme allocating only a few properties. Only 5 allocations were made between 1989 and 1991 (see Table 6.3). However, in the period prior to the Millwall by-elections in 1993 this was reversed, showing increased lettings to the scheme. Between 1992 and 1993, 19 lettings were made representing 7% of local allocations. The purpose of the scheme was to have a housing policy that provided lettings for 'local' (White) residents (reflected by the increased lettings), as opposed to people from outside the locality. The Local Liberal party and community groups coined the slogan 'Homes for Islanders' to lobby for more housing from the Labour administration in the neighbourhood (Hewett and Adams, 1994: section 3, 5). Housing supply and demand problems were at the heart of allocation in the area but the racist overtones of the political campaigns marred attempts to meet demands for housing groups more effectively. Political campaigning for local elections in the locality revolved around council housing allocations, particularly the proportion received by homeless applicants. The 'Sons and Daughters Schemes' had significant political weight and was used by the British National Party to symbolise the perceived disadvantages of White people applying for housing.

Within a particular locality the view of justice can have different meanings over time and space (Harvey, 1996) and vary in it's significance to different groups (Walzer, 1983: 20-5). In this respect, Labour politicians that had opposed the scheme changed their position and became instrumental in resurrecting the policy as an important option for local people. This action can be viewed as an act of political survival, using the politics of housing as a tool to hold on to power (Solomos, 1993: 106). After the local election the number of lettings increased substantially to 66 between 1993 and 1994, accounting for 21% of allocations in the locality. At the same time the other remaining neighbourhoods were averaging 14% of allocations to 'sons and daughters' (LBTH, Isle of Dogs, 1993b).

This situation shows that interpretations of justice are not static but are open to different interpretations by the same stakeholders. The representation of the 'Sons

and Daughters Schemes' was changed to reflect political aims and the interest of residents and community groups. Politician's responsibilities in interpreting needs forced them to increase the importance of the scheme in the allocation policy. This reflected priortisation of local needs, as seen by the majority of voters, over those of the minority who were most disadvantaged in the housing system; the homeless and ethnic minority applicants. Whilst striving to maintain political control and responding to accusations of ignoring housing needs of the majority, universal notions of justice were abandoned (Hewett and Adams, 1994: 6). In this way, pluralist views of social justice based on principles of desert and right became paramount over principles of need represented by the borough-wide policy of homeless targets (LBTH, Performance Review, 1993a).

6.6.8 Actions in the Community Arena

The concerns about this policy outside of the institution were varied. Groups had different views on social justice, which influenced their concerns about the basis and validity of the scheme in the allocation system. Local councillors who saw many advantages in the scheme advocated the position of White applicants and their community. For Black and Asians applicants the policy was a failure in view of the small numbers of lettings they received.

The scheme failed the ethnic minority community on three accounts. The population structure and social networks of ethnic groups in the borough worked against Black and Asian members qualifying for the scheme. Second, the scheme had not taken into account the multicultural and family dynamics of all the communities in the borough and was based on a very traditional White British 'East End' way of family life (see Willmot and Young, 1957). Not all communities would welcome single young adults living on their own. The survey found that Asian 'sons and daughters' were content living with parents rather than on their own (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992d: 18). Third the policy was not inclusive of all the borough's communities. During the 1980s there was a growing Somali community that contained refugees requiring housing (Ye-Myint, 1992: 11). The scheme excluded this disadvantaged group as the majority had no parents but lived with extended families as surrogate sons or

daughters (Ye-Myint, 1992: 21). Therefore most were unable to meet the eligibility criterion of living with a parent. This rule seemed harsh and poorly planned, as the borough was already aware of the problem of separated Bangladeshi families highlighted by the CRE Formal Investigation (CRE, 1988).

Research undertaken by the housing department in 1992 confirmed some of these arguments (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992d). The study found that 86% of Asians preferred to live with their parents rather than on their own compared to 12% of White applicants. The research also identified potential applicants under the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' who were not eligible because they were living with relatives other than parents, which was more prevalent in ethnic communities.

6.6.9 Actions in the Public Opinion Arena: Liberal Party and the Media

Deteriorating race relations in the borough were centred on council housing and its implications for the different ethnic groups. The 'Sons and Daughters Housing Scheme' was one of the main issues in this debate. The controversial nature of the policy and its meaning for the boroughs' housing applicants required local politicians to justify their political support and agenda on this issue for the enquiry. Public debate on the schemes' outcomes had adverse effects for race relations and local politics in the borough particularly after the election of a far right councillor in 1993 (*The Guardian*, 1993). However, the majority of the population was White and their views were given prominence in continuing with the policy, which was for them a success. Generally, the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' improved their chances of housing over Asian applicants that had higher levels of homelessness and overcrowding.

Criticism of the scheme was open and public; this prompted the Liberal Democrat enquiry to include specific analysis of the scheme in their enquiry (Liberal Democrat Party, 1993: 41). The representation to the enquiry provides some idea of the changing nature of the policy objectives based on their ideas of sustaining families in the community. In 1987 they developed objectives that focused on balance in the community. Later in their second term the justification for the policy was the

proportion of housing allocated to the homeless, the majority of whom were Bangladeshi and the larger share of housing they were receiving (Liberal Democrat Party, 1993: 41). The position of the enquiry in relation to justice appeared to be unclear. They wanted to support the local party but clearly its use of this policy was unjust. As an open public enquiry, universal notions were evident in their remit (*op cit.*). A compromise was adopted; no call for its abolition was made, and the justification of the policy was accepted.

6.6.10 Actions in Society: Interventions by the Commission for Racial Equality

As the focus of action moved from the public opinion to the wider society, universal notions of justice became more relevant. Most stakeholders outside the institution and localities could see that the policy provided a mechanism for White applicants to receive housing. This was despite having lower housing priority than other racial groups that were in more severe need (the majority who were Bangladeshis). The CRE was the main exponent of these universal views .

During the NDN in the borough the CRE vigorously opposed the scheme citing three reasons. The main objections were that it was not based on housing need. The overriding priority for housing was not need for shelter but geographical proximity to a parent. Second, they were concerned that it did not justify the rationale of keeping families together. At the time 'sons and daughters' applicants were allowed to be housed anywhere in the borough. This was an exception, as most applicants were limited to housing in their own locality (discussed in more detail in the next case study). If the aim of the scheme was to maintain familial ties, logically, applicants should be housed in the same neighbourhoods to achieve this objective. The CRE's position was vindicated when it was shown that the scheme could not even meet this basic policy objective of keeping families together.

Unequal outcomes for ethnic groups was the third reason, providing the strongest evidence of the schemes injustice. CRE arguments for abolition were based on the small proportions of Asian applicants housed and the disproportionate outcomes of housing in favour of White applicants. The CRE reaction towards the scheme was

one of continued pressure for its abolition. As an important housing stakeholder in the borough the CRE were able to place their arguments directly to the council's housing department. Thus, placing their concerns in the arena of the institution where immediate attention could be given to the substance of the arguments against the scheme.

Their actions prompted the local authority to undertake research into the operation of the scheme. The research gave a clear message to stakeholder groups identifying concerns for councillors, housing officials, applicants and the CRE and community groups. The research also recommended changes that would produce fairer outcomes. These involved wider dissemination of information and changes to eligibility criteria. The research did not provide any policy solutions that would alter the fundamental principle of the low threshold of housing need required in the scheme. Notably the research contained no request for the scheme to be abolished nor was there any suggestion that targets for each ethnic group would be beneficial to assess equity.

While this inquiry suggested some superficial changes, they would not change the fundamental injustice of the scheme. After the survey, the CRE continued to call for the scheme to be removed from the authorities' allocation procedures or face further legal action (LBTH, Management Board, 1992).

6.7 CASE STUDY C: AREA TRANSFERS FOR EXISTING TENANTS

Within Tower Hamlets the neighbourhood system facilitated the role of housing staff to act independently of other localities. They allocated within their own area where they had jurisdiction and total control of housing. Thus staff preferred to exercise their decision-making power in their neighbourhoods by offering properties within the limits of their locality. This development had a negative impact on council tenants wanting to move between areas. Once resident in a locality, tenants would experience difficulties in moving freely across the neighbourhood boundaries. The 'inter neighbourhoods housing policy', referred to the council procedures for tenants' movement across the seven locality boundaries.

This practice was developed with the following agreed features. Area transfers were restricted to those in medium to high need on the housing priority scale. The nominating neighbourhood, in the locality that the tenant is moving from, had control over transfer of tenants. They also had a duty to inform the new locality where the tenant wished to reside, requesting their assistance with transfer administration. However, this procedure would only run satisfactorily if the receiving locality accepted tenants' existing priority and property requirements, set by their present area or residence. This was important as disputes between localities over priority or bedroom requirements could effectively prevent transfers taking place. For council tenants in the seven local areas, this policy meant they were prevented from freely moving across the locality boundaries because of conflicts of interest.

6.7.1 Arena of Locality: The Concerns of Applicants

There were several concerns of applicants relating to the administration of the policy. In essence the mobility of tenants was difficult, and was compounded by the number of areas involved. Problems were caused by inconsistent use of procedure and the variable co-operation and co-ordination of the localities involved in transfer applications. The central housing department function was limited in the devolved structure, and had insufficient organisational power to intervene in neighbourhood matters (LBTH, Decentralisation, 1986). Within the local authority no complaints system existed for tenants with a borough-wide problem. Grievances were assumed to be locally based and were dealt with by neighbourhood housing management or committees (Lowe, 1992). There were no internal solutions and therefore tenants approached an external agency. A dissatisfied tenant in one locality took their refusal for a transfer to another neighbourhood to the Local Government Ombudsman (LGO). Thus, action on this issue began in the local community, but moved outside the borough, where an independent legally binding decision for all neighbourhoods could be made.

6.7.2 The arena of Society: Concerns of the Local Government Ombudsman

The LGO is a public organisation that according to it's own statement "investigates complaints of injustice arising from maladministration by local authorities" (LGO,

2002). In practice the LGO investigates the methods local authorities use to deliver services or carry out duties, thus focusing on the procedural mechanisms of council administration. The LGO are not the first recourse for public grievance within the system of public scrutiny. Local authorities are given the opportunity to respond to complaints first, so that complaints to the ombudsman are a later option. In this situation, their role is one of assessing the fairness of procedures by evaluating different aspects of procedural justice. These can be interpreted by Rawls (1972: 84-87) view of procedural justice.

The general concern of the ombudsman in this complaint was inconsistency of the neighbourhoods in the way transfers were dealt with. Particularly, the lack of administrative structure in their decision making. After investigating this complaint the ombudsman decided against the council and in favour of the tenant. The action of the LGO as a stakeholder was to ensure that procedures were effective for applicants. This meant transparent and consistent procedures within the borough. However, the actions of neighbourhoods were very much based on parochial views of localities as closed administrative areas.

There were no written procedures or guidance for officers or tenants either locally or centrally on how the inter neighbourhood policy worked. The ombudsman's concern was that the methods of nominating tenants for transfer or accepting transfers were open to different interpretations and inconsistencies. With this lack of basic administrative and procedural structure tenants' requests for transfer could be refused without valid reason. There were also concerns about the lack of monitoring of transfers. As this related to internal moves, this had not come under the Non Discrimination Notice and no monitoring systems had been developed. Within the decentralised system neighbourhoods were territorial, concerned about their area and not about allocations across the borough (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992b).

The ombudsman investigation publicly demonstrated the contradiction that the borough, as the authority for a legally recognised single area was preventing legitimate movement within its own boundary. Decisions on housing transfers were made by local neighbourhoods housing departments. These neighbourhoods were not

legally recognised outside of the borough, so the autonomy of the decisions made by these housing departments was in question.

6.7.3 Actions within the Institutions

On the two fundamental issues, inconsistency of procedures and lack of monitoring, the ombudsman urged the local authority (represented by the neighbourhood in the complaint) to review transfer practices and develop a comprehensive policy. Although the decision referred to a particular neighbourhood this had wide implications for all neighbourhoods.

The council was slow in acting on the ombudsman's original report issued in February 1991 (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992b). In October 1991 of that year the Ombudsman notified Tower Hamlets council that they were legally bound to introduce the operation of a new policy within two months. The strategy function retained by the central housing department provided a co-ordinating role, from which to ensure that neighbourhoods co-operated in agreeing a borough wide policy. A review of practices was undertaken that included consultation with housing managers in the neighbourhoods. The following quote reporting the findings illustrated some of the concerns:

> "The consultation process also highlighted different views as to whether the receiving neighbourhood should/should not be in control over the assessment of the priority of the nominees. The receiving neighbourhood cannot abdicate its right to assess the priority of nominees. This practice would be contrary to the council's decentralisation policy on allocations. Where neighbourhoods have the responsibility for exercising discretion on lettings in their area, it is therefore proposed that the receiving (importing) neighbourhoods have complete control over the assessment of the priority of nominees who are put forward to be transferred into their area." (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992b).

Concerns focused on the procedures of transfer and the autonomy of each local housing department to assess applicants for housing. Assessments were particularly relevant as only certain applicants qualified for transfer. It appeared that receiving neighbourhoods wanted to confirm that applicants qualified for transfer. In essence,

locality based housing officers were in favour of restricted movement across areas and viewed new changes as a possible loss of control.

6.7.4 Concerns of Councillors

Councillors in the decentralised system perceived neighbourhoods as their policy arena. Lowndes and Stoker (1992) commented that neighbourhoods acted as independent political units. Within their area councillors considered themselves able to interpret the needs of the community. Consequently, there was an absence of inter-neighbourhood co-operation. Generally, councillors preferred to focus on neighbourhood issues and were less interested with issues that concerned the borough as a whole, such as internal area moves. In this situation, councillors would have been indifferent. Therefore, if tenants wanted to leave, their locality councillors did not openly appear to oppose their decisions.

6.7. 8 Conclusion

This case study illustrates the importance of localities to housing policy. The difficulty of movement across housing neighbourhood boundaries meant that tenants' freedom was curtailed and this was interpreted as an injustice. The interpretation of injustice appeared to vary (Shklar, 1990: 40). Applicants focused on their inability to select areas in other neighbourhoods. The LGO emphasised inherent problems of procedural justice in transfer practices. The methods used were inconsistent no clear guidelines existed. Therefore, the contexts and the process of the decisions were deemed unfair. Rawls' (1972: 202) freedom of liberty objective and his ideal of procedural justice as fair methods for achieving just outcomes, were not attained.

Housing staff operated the policy for their own areas and did not consider the problems for applicants moving amongst the autonomous localities. Applicants had relatively weak negotiating power to challenge the policy. Imrie and Raco's (1999, 46) work provides an understanding of the weak position of council tenants in determining or influencing the policy on transfers. Therefore tenants' problems and needs were articulated by the LGO in the wider society. This strengthened their position, in the debate as their right to free movement was confirmed. Consequently

locally divergent interpretations of justice were modified to be more consistent across localities. This suggests universal theories of justice acceptable in society would eventually prevail over local views of justice for specific groups or communities.

Tower Hamlets was viewed by central government and for legal purposes as a single body. This meant that a neighbourhood's ability to act independently within the local authority was not legally recognised outside the borough. Divided territory was perceived as one locality and therefore the LGO considered that a single consensual area policy should exist. With the co-operation of neighbourhoods the central housing department was given the responsibility to resolve this dispute (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992b). A single policy was later developed so that transfer procedures were the same for all neighbourhoods. Under the changes requested by the LGO it was reaffirmed that localities were part of a single spatial structure that should treat all transfer tenants equally.

The practices used for inter-area transfer were based on the views of two groups of stakeholders; housing officials and politicians in the localities who received the most benefits from the system. Stakeholders who saw injustice in this policy were tenants who were restricted by territorial control on the small bounded areas in the authority. The aim of the LGO judgement was to secure, an appropriate and satisfactory redress for complainants or better administration in a local authority (LGO, 2002).

6.8 CONCLUSION: STAKEHOLDERS AND JUSTICE IN LOCALITIES

This chapter examined research questions about the relationship between social justice and council housing stakeholders in Tower Hamlets localities. Two questions were addressed by the case studies. What role did stakeholders play in the interpretation and the negotiation of housing outcomes for justice? Second, How important were local characteristics in shaping social justice for localities? These questions are answered in the following sections.

This discussion has examined how policy differentiation works within the housing department and the localities of the borough. Stakeholders included housing

applicants, officials, councillors, external bodies and public opinion all played a role in developing and implementing allocation policy in Tower Hamlets. Challenges to the policy process were undertaken by any of these groups. Generally, stakeholder actions in policy were linked to their views of social justice (introduced in Chapter 3). Table 6.5 analyses stakeholder actions and relates them to various principles of justice discussed in Chapter 2. The Table consists of five columns. Column 1 is a list of the different stakeholder groups and column 2 sets out the most prominent views of justice (identified from the case studies). Column 3 identifies the area of policy concern for each group. Column 4 identifies which stage in the allocation process stakeholders need to influence, in order to achieve policy changes. Column 5 expresses the most effective policy instrument or method that was used in producing change or just outcomes. This framework provides some of the answers to interpreting the case study discussion of stakeholders' roles in localities.

Table 6.5 Analysis of Justice and Policy Concerns in Tower Hamlets

Stakeholders (1)	Principle Idea of Justice (2)	What are the Concerns? (3)	Where Stakeholders Influence? (4)	How policy concerns are made? (5)
Councillors	As Desert	Interpreting Needs	Just Principles	In Policy Intent
Housing Staff	As Desert Justice as common good	Administrative Managing Stock	Allocation Methods	Implementation
Applicants	Justice as right	Access to housing	Equal Opportunity	In Access
External Bodies	Justice as fairness Common good	Discrimination And Fairness	Outcomes	By statutory rules, Legal Judgements
Public Opinion	Various views	Evaluating Policy	Any Part	In Public Debate

Source: Based on Elster 1992: 135-183 and developed from the case study analysis in this chapter.

Table 6.5 begins with the founding principles combined with their particular roles in the housing process that form the basis of their stakeholder actions. For councillors, interpreting housing need for their locality was their main concern. Notions of justice based on political beliefs and ideology were transferred into policy objectives that suggested housing allocation should be based on desert. This involved housing being prioritised to the most deserving, rather than following universal egalitarian principals to those most in need.

Housing Staff were influenced by their institutional agendas, developing objectives and policy to carry out tasks to benefit the organisation. This resulted in conflicts between politicians and housing officers in developing policy objectives. In these circumstance actions may not be compatible with egalitarian principles of justice. As an alternative, principles of desert or common good maybe seen as the acceptable basis for justice, causing some conflicts between stakeholder groups. A possible explanation of the substitution of egalitarian principles is the work of Edward (1990). He argues that conflicts between conceptions of equality and liberty are the source of most problems in applying justice fairly to policy. Edwards identified differences between an egalitarian system for all sections of the community and distributions developed on historical based desert connections or rights that would reduce access for some groups. These incompatibilities in basic founding principles would result in variances for procedural and distributive justice. Evidence of this was seen in the different procedures and unequal distributions of housing found in the 'Sons and Daughters Schemes' in different neighbourhoods.

All applicants were concerned about access to council housing. Concerns were based on their pursuit of housing, and the expectation that it would be supplied on demand. Applicants often saw housing as a right, confirming King's (2000) arguments that the principle of 'right' may be more appropriate for allocating council housing. Whilst there was a high demand for housing (illustrated by the population growth and numbers applying for housing in the Bangladeshi community), applicants' expectations for immediate housing were unlikely to be met. Some housing priority and racial groups did not seem to be fairly represented among those receiving housing. Equal opportunity policies are a guide for achieving equity and fairness in

allocating housing to applicants. The success of equal opportunity would be visible in polices formulated to include better access, fair treatment and outcomes for all groups. Such outcomes would reflect egalitarian universal principles of justice. This was not demonstrated in the three case studies seen here. All showed various aspects of injustice related to housing need.

For housing officials, procedures and the practical issues of administering the allocation of housing are of importance. Their concerns are directed to balancing just principles with the practical application of undertaking allocation duties and managing lettings, in the various housing departments. There may be some differences of opinion, between housing staff and management, over which procedures are the most effective for policy to remain just and fair (Few, 2002: 30). The case study showed that when implementing the 'Sons and Daughters Schemes', housing officials were obliged to work within a political system. To balance this position they sought legal interpretation that would justify their actions to the wider society. In certain situations, however, powerful actors in institutions may attempt to determine action inside allocating departments. The chief executive of Bethnal Green Neighbourhood requested legal advice before sanctioning housing officers to implement the new 'Sons and Daughters Scheme'. This supports Carmichael (1994) findings that complex relationships of control and politics exist within local authorities. They viewed managers as 'organisational politicians', attempting to control and build alliances and networks with various stakeholders (*op cit.*, 244-6). In this case ensuring allocation methods were legally based. However, the ruling elite of Liberal councillors enforced the new policy. Therefore both desert and common good are used interchangeably in completing the dual responsibilities of landlord and provider.

External organisations were concerned with re-instating universal concepts, which were connected to fair allocation procedures and outcomes. This was given resonance by additional powers, often in the form of legal statues (CRE, 1989b). These organisations often had no contact with the allocating institution, becoming aware of discrimination or dissatisfaction, through a complaint or grievance procedure initiated by other stakeholders. This is seen in the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' case study

and more clearly in the 'internal moves' case study. The capacity to undertake a policing role is important for external organisations, as they are concerned with fundamental issues of equal opportunity, equality, and fairness in procedural and distributive justice (Young, 1990). External institutions involved in the housing policy arena were able to use legal powers to interpret how procedures and policy should proceed fairly. This was validated by the court system or consulting legal opinion, which provided consensus to ensuring that outcomes were fair and non-discriminatory. Their aim was to modify institutional action toward acceptable egalitarian concepts of justice such as those advocated by Rawls (1972).

'Local opinion' stakeholders consisted of different types of groups in the general public expressing a view. Issues of concern related to high profile and controversial decisions made by staff and politicians in the local authority. Examples from the case studies related to allocating minorities to areas of high racial attacks, prioritising 'sons and daughters' over other need groups and preventing applicants from moving easily across boundaries. Evidence of these concerns was seen in the extensive public debate represented in local, national and minority based newspapers combined with publications from community groups and professional and academic interests.

Positive action toward just outcomes was produced through coalitions of stakeholder groups in different arenas. Stakeholders acting together with similar views ensured egalitarian justice principles were upheld. The role of Spitalfields Housing and Planning Rights Service (SHPRS) and Tower Hamlets Homeless Families Campaign (THHFC) was key in establishing poor quality of housing as being important in the debate over housing allocation in the area. They were both local community groups, who acted as a catalyst for change and provided a voice for local Bangladeshi housing applicants who were the main victims of unjust housing policy. The work of Lincoln (1977: 19-23) on community decision making, describes the actions of community groups as social agents regulating the power interests of dominant organisations. The community groups had identified and articulated the concern of applicants who had little power or voice in the system. Public bodies clearly operate independently of the local authority but some exerted more influence than others do because of their legal powers. For example the CRE had direct influence on outcomes in the institution

during the NDN compared to local campaigning groups who focused on residents or the media to influence justice.

6.9 LOCALITY AND POLICY DIFFERENTIATION

The second question concerning stakeholders relates to the locality characteristics and their affects on policy. Localities are defined as places with several different meanings, connected to the role of stakeholder and their interactions. Locality provides a spatial connection and setting from which actions connected to allocation can be analysed within a specific setting. Some authors argue that groups living in the same locality can have very different ideas of what is represented by locality (Burgess, 1978; Spencer and Dixon, 1982), some relevant views are outlined in Table 6.6.

Table 6.6 Stakeholders and Representation of Locality in Tower Hamlets

STAKEHOLDERS IN HOUSING	USAGE OF BY STAKEHOLDER LOCALITY	REPRESENTATION OF LOCALITY TO STAKEHOLDERS
ELECTED COUNCILLORS	Policy Arena	Constituency of voters
HOUSING DEPARTMENT STAFF	Jurisdictional part	A bounded housing area
LOCALITY HOUSING MANAGERS	Governance area	Service delivery zones
NEW APPLICANTS	Psychological location	A sense of belonging
EXISTING TENANTS	Territory	Home and amenities
EXTERNAL REGULATOR	Spatial connection	Area of enforcement
LOCAL OPINION	Geographical location	A sense of community

Based on Burgess, 1978; Spencer and Dixon, 1982; Jackson, 1991; Pratt, 1991.

In the Table Locality appears to represent something different to all groups each with a different usage and representation of locality. The meanings of locality influences the way stakeholders define their interactions in policy and the case studies show that this structured their ability to fulfil their expectations of justice for particular locations. There are several conceptions of how locality may be viewed by groups

based on writers ideas and observations from the case studies (Peet, 1991; Jackson, 1991; 1993). What was important for the meaning of locality and policy differentiation was that decentralisation in Tower Hamlets produced highly localised governance. This structure emphasised the importance of localities to determine housing policy for areas producing injustice for some groups and locations.

The population composition, political parties and housing demands in neighbourhoods were shown to be important factors in shaping local allocation policies. These factors influenced valid notions of social justice for stakeholders in the borough localities. High housing demand, supply problems and racial attacks were problems identified by the Home Affairs Committee and the CRE as important issues affecting choice of locaity for the Bangladeshis community in Tower Hamlets. Solutions identified to help these problems were the CRE intervention, prompt action by the council on racial attacks and improvements in allocation procedures.

The case studies demonstrated that locality characteristics can shape policy implementation and outcomes. Pickvance et al. (1990: 191-193), in their study of policy variations, found that three elements were important in evaluating the cause of policy change within localities: conditions in localities, resources and strategies used to formulate policy. These elements can be related to the case studies in Tower Hamlets in the following way. Conditions refer to socio-economic factors affecting the locality from outside. These factors can be constraining or enabling depending on the location. Illustrations of these factors in Tower Hamlets case studies were the growing minority population, immigration, refugees and families reuniting. The inability of the local authority to build housing for large families and the small contribution to social housing stock in the area from LDDC constrained the planning and development of housing investment. An increase in the number of properties as a result of the GLC demise provided further pressure on the management of housing. The history of racial conflict, politics and isolation in the Isle of Dogs contributed to the contestation of universal principles for concerns about local needs. This local characteristic of racist political and ideological values sustained pluralist conceptions of justice conflicting with accepted universal views.

The second element refers to the diverse range of resources open to decision-makers within a locality. These include several aspects, first historical legacy, followed by geographical and physical structures, the amount and forms of finance and finally, legitimacy, the ability to act with public support or consensus. In Tower Hamlets, these features are evident, for example, in the historical legacy of racial intolerance in some areas of the borough (as seen in the Isle of Dogs). Differences in the size and identities of localities provided scope for the varied political environments, in the decentralised structure. Therefore, housing departments in localities were influenced by local politics that gave some legitimacy to unjust policies developed by politicians. In additon, the legitimacy of some local policies was detrimental to fair outcomes, as there was little consensus on implementation, and externally neighbourhoods were not legally recognised.

Pickvance et al. (1990) identified locality changes as 'strategies', these are specific local initiatives designed to raise standards in a neighbourhood. This can be interpreted in the decentralised governance in Tower Hamlets. Generally, decentralised services were developed to improve local democracy, which included emphasis on local needs, management and devolved finances. The varying 'Sons and Daughters Schemes' in the localities are examples of these localised strategies. Some neighbourhoods saw this policy as a relevant strategy and developed its potential to allocate more properties to 'sons and daughters', as in Bethnal Green. Alternatively, Poplar Neighbourhood used the scheme as a low priority housing band whereas the Isle of Dogs allocated inconsistently to the schemes to serve political objectives in the locality. Pickvance et al. (1990) found that a combination of these factors were sufficient to produce implementation variation in policy across localities. This was the case in the instances considered here.

The examination of these case studies supported Elster's (1992) views that justice dispensed through institution had various results. These results can be described as either primary or secondary consequences observed from outcomes. For council housing policy in Tower Hamlets, primary consequences are direct results that are not the intentions of allocation policy. An example of primary consequences was

outcomes of the 'Sons and Daughters Schemes' where most lettings were predominately to White applicants that had relatively low housing priority.

Secondary effects are indirect outcomes, which may disproportionately affect particular applicant groups. An example is illustrated in the first case study, many Asian applicants are victims of persistent racial attacks on some estates. This reduces their ability to accept housing anywhere in the borough, restricting their choice of housing to the 'safe' E.1 area. The secondary affects are that offers of properties in 'hostile' areas (those with a history of racial attacks), will indirectly discriminates against Black and Asian housing applicants.

The cumulative affect of social justice can be transformed from a local to a global perspective, where global injustice is perceived on a wider societal level. Groups already seen as suffering injustice or disadvantaged in society, for example, ethnic minorities, the unemployed and low waged become victims of further justice elsewhere. For council house allocations these circumstances mean that applicants already disadvantaged are further disadvantaged by the allocation system, implemented through their local housing department. The CRE interpreted this situation as necessitating actions to secure equal access, treatment and outcomes for ethnic minority groups. The imposition of the NDN reflected the global justice considerations, arising from the disadvantaged position of Asian and Black applicants in society (illustrated in case study 2). The commission used their powers to ensure that universal values of justice invested in the courts system and the *Race Relations Act 1976* were evoked. Basic universal principles of social justice outlined by Rawls (1972) could then be applied to challenge unjust locality policies.

In the case studies, global consequences were those identified by external agencies, such as racial discrimination toward Asians on the Isle of Dogs, and the CRE objection to disproportionate outcomes for the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' in Bethnal Green. These global consequences are the most public examples of injustice as they often conflict with universal egalitarian principles of a just distribution. This legitimised the intervention of external organisations (the CRE and LGO) into Tower Hamlets housing department, as important for justice in society generally.

6.10 CONCLUSION

Stakeholders in the council housing policy arena in Tower Hamlets held different views and notions of social justice. Groups interacted with each other at different stages in the processes of policy making and housing allocation. This process of interaction can be described as both procedural and distributive in nature. In conclusion, analysis from the case studies showed that stakeholders' actions can be divided into three arenas and these are connected to their roles in allocating housing (Table 6.5). Interactions were connected to stakeholders' ideas of justice and their particular concerns in the allocation system. These were illustrated in their ability to influence different parts of the policy process. Their particular concerns were presented in different ways and forms to support various views of justice for localities.

Outside of the institution, the case studies demonstrated three specific types of action connected to justice. First, the enforcing actions from external organisations and pressure groups ensuring that equal opportunity and fairness were universal ideals in policy. These types of actions were achieved through statutory powers and collaboration with other interests groups using justice principles based on universal egalitarian views. Second, there were participatory actions that influenced public perceptions about injustice in the system. This enabled the communication of universal objectives through documents, print media and professional and academic debates. Actions were aimed at building coalitions and informing stakeholders and people in the society, an example is the publication of the THHC and SHPRS reports on housing for Bangladeshi families in the E.1 area. Finally, the case studies highlighted the defensive actions by local politicians confirming their justice position. Their political mandate to interpret local needs, without regard to basic universal premises of justice, illustrated the conflict that pluralist views of justice produce. This also applied to some community and political groups, exposing their adherence to pluralist views of justice evident in their agenda of allocation policies based on desert and historical ties rather than housing need and disadvantage.

Turk (1997) argues that conflicts produced by pluralism and different power interest provide some explanation of the differences in outcomes between public organisations. This is relevant for evaluating case studies in local authorities where politics is a major factor in decision making. The case studies demonstrated that political interests of stakeholders, particularly between housing officials, councillors and external bodies, provided a contested environment for housing implementation and outcomes.

Local politics and the political governance in some localities may increase the contested nature of housing and the importance of housings to the identity of the local communities. The role of councillors in defining local needs and their influence in policy formulation can have varied effects on the residents of a locality (Carmichael, 1994). Demands of certain groups less advantaged than others may be given less priority. Reasons were shown to be of lack of political will or discriminatory views that some stakeholders used in interpreting justice. Local views of justice connected to pluralist notions of justice had invaded policy making in smaller localities to the exclusion of universal notions of justice. This caused deviations from intended fair policy objectives to discriminatory procedures and unfair distributions for some applicants. The next chapter will continue this theme by looking at evidence of actual outcomes and assessing what implicit or explicit view of justice can be inferred by the findings.

CHAPTER 7

AN INVESTIGATION OF HOUSING ALLOCATION OUTCOMES

"At every stage of development people must know what their basic needs are, and just as they will produce their own goods if they have land, so if they have sufficient freedom they can be relied upon to determine their own priorities" Julius Nyere (Amoah 1989: 159).

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains the third case study and examines the housing outcomes for different groups. The aims of this case study are to explore distributive justice notions in the properties received by applicants and apply notions of justice relevant to the assessment of housing they received. The chapter is divided into three sections, each contributing to an understanding of various aspects of council housing outcomes. The research questions investigated in this chapter relate to assessing fair outcomes in housing. This requires first, identifying notions of justice used to analyse housing outcomes. This is followed by a discussion of two factors that influence outcomes in justice the various responsibilities of local authorities and the differing bargaining power of applicants. These provide contextual background for the secondary analysis of outcomes in the final section. This analysis of housing outcome is divided into sections dealing with groups in the housing system and the various demands of justice. The chapter concludes by assessing whether these demands of justice have been achieved in the outcomes investigated.

7.2 HOUSING OUTCOMES AND VALID MODELS OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

In translating justice from abstract theory to an applicable concept, different models of justice are seen as indicating alternative criteria from which social justice can be assessed (based on discussion in Chapter 2). Two theorists provide the basis from which a taxonomy of distributive justice has been developed, Smith (1977: 151-2) and Rawls (1972: 302-3). From their ideas four conceptions of social justice have been developed and identified as useful models in considering fair outcomes for housing described in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Theoretical Demands of Social Justice for Council Housing Allocation

Theories of Social Justice (1)	Degree of emphasis on equality (2)	Maximin Aim of a Just distribution (3)	Maximin Aim interpreted as an Allocations policy (4)	Maximin Aim Operationalised in allocation outcomes (5)
^Utilitarian	Least	Distribution/procedures must maximise **sum total benefit across all groups**	The total amount of council housing allocated should be maximised and increased.	A constant or growing proportion of all those eligible for housing are allocated tenancies.
#Constrained inequality	Limited	Distribution/procedures are fair, if **no one group loses** out more than a specified amount	All groups receive housing within a set limit for each group.	Housing allocated to those eligible for housing in agreed proportion to the limits set for each group.
*Pareto (Rawls less)	Moderate	Distribution/procedures are fair, if the **least advantaged not further disadvantaged**	All groups receive a share of all types and quality of housing; the most disadvantaged should not receive proportionately more poor housing.	Housing allocated by need, the least advantaged housed quickly and not disproportionately in the poor housing.
**Rawls (Contractual)	Greatest	Distribution/procedures are fair, if it is to the greatest **benefit of the least advantaged**	The most needy groups should receive a larger proportion of the 'best' housing.	Housing allocated quickly to the most disadvantaged group who receive a large share of the 'best' housing.

Developed from: ^Brown, 1990: 37-41; #Smith, 1977: 141-143, #Harvey, 1973: 113-118; *Rawls 1972: 303; **Rawls 1972: 302

Table 7.1 describes four conceptions of social justice they are Utilitarian, Constrained Inequality, Rawls (Pareto) and Rawls Contractual) models of social justice. The distinct criteria attributed to separate notions of social justice are differentiated here, by the degree of emphasis placed on equality[46]. Column 2 in Table 7.1 shows that the

[46] This follows egalitarian conception of justice, where equality is the maximin principle of justice, discussed in Chapter 2 on egalitarian views of social justice.

Utilitarian models of justice places least emphasis on equality. The Constrained Equality model puts limited emphasis on equality. Rawls' Pareto model advocates moderate requirements for equality, and the Rawls' contractual model of social justice places the greatest emphasis on equality.

Different conceptions of social justice also have separate views of what is considered to be the most important aim of justice, this is known as the 'maximin' aim (see Table 7.1 column 3). These different maximin aims contained within models of social justice produce four different results or outcomes for a just distribution for social goods. These conceptions interpreted as follows can be used to assess council housing allocations. A Utilitarian view of justice achieves a just distribution *if the sum total of benefits across all groups is maximised*; this notion expresses the importance of utility in outcomes for all groups (Brown, 1990: 37-41).

Constrained equality produces a just distribution *if no group looses out more than a specified amount* (Smith, 1977: 141-143; Harvey, 1973: 113-118). Rawls' (1972) seminal work on social justice can be distinguished by its discussion of two maximin principles connected to social justice. One principle is of a moderate nature, and can be described as Pareto (see Chapter 2). In the Pareto model justice is achieved *if the least advantaged group is not further disadvantaged* (Rawls 1972: 303). Rawls second view, a contractual notion of social justice places the greatest emphasis on full equality has a maximin aim. Thus, for Rawls' contractual view, a just distribution of society is characterised by *the most disadvantaged group receiving the greatest benefit* (Rawls 1972: 302). However, the maximin aim at this stage can still be considered a theoretical principle and cannot be evaluated until has been operationalised into policy objectives (Elster, 1992: 62-66). Maximin aims are thus interpreted into policy intent, as the main objectives of the council housing allocation system.

Column 4 in Table 7.1, suggests how these maximins may be interpreted in principles that are implemented by the housing department. Notions of justice have an optimum objective that can be achieved from outcomes. The final column suggests how these maximins may be interpreted in allocation outcomes. These four conceptions of

justice are used to assess the outcomes of justice in this chapter. This model will not be applied rigidly; but provides a method of relating theories to application; therefore, as in the real world some elements will overlap.

7.3 INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS IN HOUSING ALLOCATION

For this chapter it is also necessary to develop an understanding of procedural justice in an institutional setting. This involves the wider context of housing responsibilities and differing power of housing applicants. Elster (1992) argues that abstract notions of justice have to be translated into operational terms to relate them to allocating goods, through an institution. Social justice in the setting of the institution also involves the priorities of that institution, which affects aims for just outcome based solely on a criterion of justice. Thus, institutions dispensing justice are affected by their internal culture and politics, this is combined with the external views and aspirations of recipients.

The priorities of local authorities are balanced with the duties and responsibilities set by Central Government (Balchin, 1998; 64)[47]. In practice councils' have multiple roles as providers of social housing, this includes duties as a landlord to maintain and repair its housing stock (see Chapters 3 and 5). The local authority (in which the housing department is situated) also has an enabling role to regenerate neighbourhoods (Watt and Jacob, 2000). Councils also have to prioritise needs among different groups (Franklin, 2000). These various responsibilities of the local authority may come into conflict and have a direct or indirect influence in allocating housing (Audit Commission, 1989). Conflicts may occur when tenants need to be 'decanted' or moved into a new property in order to renovate properties or to carry out essential safety work. Delays to planned works for regeneration can result in penalties and additional financial costs for the local authority. In order to ensure that work is on time, the council's priority is to rehouse tenants quickly. This may be done expediently at the expense of someone in greater need. Thus, the council's responsibilities to regenerate estates and wider notions of social justice for territories

[47] Most Housing priority plans are set out in Housing Investment Plan (HIP) submitted to central government.

may take precedence in some instances. This causes a conflict of interest between housing for specific groups and justice among groups and localities (Long, 2000). The responsibility to maintain the councils' housing stock reflects principles of justice based on utility (as 'best' for all) which considers the wider implications of housing for all tenants.

A range of considerations which have not been reflected in their technical procedures may cause conflicts for housing officials. Historical responsibilities for housing applicants in unfit conditions (based on slum clearance in the 1950s) may influence their notion of 'deserving' applicants. Transfer groups such as decants (moving because of loss of dwelling due to building repair or demolition) may appear to be a more urgent priority for housing than the homeless. The responsibilities of the housing department for different groups of applicants produce some conflicts for officials over egalitarian views of need versus desert (Kekes, 1997). Therefore, the model of justice exhibited by allocation staff can reflect a wider consideration of their institutional roles, to let properties and maintain housing stock (Harriot and Matthews, 1998: 31-40).

Models of justice can be demonstrated in the way that council prioritises housing need. Overcrowding is an important component of Government assessment for funding and area deprivation (DOE, 1985; DETR, 1997). According to the 1991 census figures, Bangladeshi households in Tower Hamlets have one of the highest overcrowding rates in the country. One of the key priorities for Tower Hamlets' Housing Management is to reduce the levels of overcrowding and this aim is translated into it's allocation policy (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992a). This is achieved using different strategies and a consideration of the political climate in the borough. For example the priority of applicants who are 'overcrowded' are classed lower than 'council interest', these are applicants that are exchanging large properties for a smaller one (LBTH, Housing Services, 1994; 1997b). The rationale is to target households' who currently under-occupied, thereby releasing larger dwellings to ease overcrowding. Allocation policy has been the impetus for high racial tension in local politics which culminated in the increased support for 'far right' policies (as discussed

in preceding chapters). Thus, housing priority has to balance the social and economic situation in the borough. In this respect changes in allocation policy have to be counter-balanced with less priority to other groups (Thomas, 1983). Within the points system, if 'overcrowding' were given a higher priority, this may be seen as advantageous to Asian applicants. Therefore, setting housing policy in a context such as Tower Hamlets treads a fine line between housing need and racial politics (Murshid, 1994; Drewes, 1995). These three factors (multiple responsibilities of the council, views of housing staff, and methods of prioritising housing need) provide some understanding of background institutional factors affecting justice in council outcomes. Although this case study adopts an institutional focus, some understanding of applicant's views is required to balance ideas on housing outcomes. These include applicants' preferences and their housing choices. These will be discussed in the next section.

7.4 APPLICANTS' INFLUENCE AND VIEWS OF HOUSING OUTCOMES

Chapter 6 illustrated that some stakeholder groups have a greater influence in the allocation process than others. A similar situation also exists within the various applicant groups. Applicants vary in their power to exert influence over their housing application (Gray, 1976; Mitlin, 2001). Those who are least empowered are initially likely to be in poorer housing. This section introduces the concept of applicants having differential power and examines the implications for outcomes within the housing allocations systems. These are confirmed more definitively in the analysis of outcomes of housing, discussed in the next two sections. Views here are based on the results of interviews with decanting tenants.

A survey, consisting of nineteen interviews with tenants about to be decanted was undertaken in the summer of 1996. This provided some insight into the preferences and different power positions of applicants and their views of the allocation process. The Coventry Cross East Estate formed part of a Single Regeneration Budget Bid that included the permanent relocation of tenants. At the time the interviews were undertaken, the majority of tenants had already been rehoused. However, those who remained, according to the interviews, were the more difficult tenants, determined to

gain a particular type of housing. The tenants had already been interviewed by the local housing department to assess their housing needs, and to categorise their household status as transfer decant applicants (LBTH, Housing Services, 1995a[48]). The deadline by which the estate had to be vacated before work commenced was known. The Allocations Section was co-operating closely with tenants to match their needs for alternative housing. Nineteen tenants were interviewed from the estate. From this total, five interviewees had been allocated their present accommodation as homeless applicants under the 'one offer' policy (LBTH, Housing Services, 1997). Those housed as homeless all had similar housing needs prior to being allocated flats on the estate. They were all of Asian ethnicity and belonged to households with dependant children, and were currently renting large four bedroom flats. All five households were dissatisfied with the estate where they lived.

The interviews produced common themes. The general consensus was that the environment and amenities were poor. The only positive element of being housed on the estate was being able to living in four-bedroomed properties because across Tower Hamlets four-bedroomed dwellings were in short supply. However, this negative fact had now proved positive. The deterioration in the structure of the dwellings on the estate, as well as the isolated location contributed to the estate being designated for demolition. This process enabled the residents to be categorised for rehousing as 'decant' which tends to command better quality housing with high urgent rehousing needs. As decants those interviewed felt that they could now wait for the 'best' accommodation to be allocated to them. Most tenants (16 interviewees) stated they were dissatisfied with their homes. They now had high expectations in terms of the type of housing that they wanted to receive. In particular, housing that offered improvements in the environment with both play and landscaping facilities or private gardens, low-rise dwellings or houses were the most popular choices. A move to a 'better' locality, with family ties or an area with a larger ethnically diverse population was seen as an important request, this is illustrated by the following comments:

[48] A part of the decant process, involved assessing whether multiple applications were necessary for a household, this may involve some members making a separate application e.g. children as single adults.

> "I want to move somewhere in Bow near to my sister. I don't want to live here"
>
> "I would like to live in the Stepney area near my family".

One of the general comments expressed by tenants was that they expected their new housing, to be in a more prosperous area. This survey suggests that these tenants new decant status has empowered them and they become more confident in accessing and challenging the allocation system to obtain their desired outcome. Comments about expected improvement in their new housing included preferences for:

> "Improved area and estate, [in terms of] the security and bad lifts"
>
> "I would like a nice flat, I can't walk up stairs."

Households that are classified as 'decant' have had a strong bargaining position historically. This arises partly because the onus is on the Housing Department to find suitable accommodation for decant households quickly[49]. The tenants use the council's obligation to rehouse them quickly, to try and obtain the 'best' property. In return tenants quickly accepted new properties vacating their old homes early within the regeneration timetable. Most (60%) of the tenants on Coventry Cross East were allocated new homes quickly. In the sample interviewed this was not the case, some had refused housing, others had not yet been found suitable homes matching their needs. The rehousing demands of interviewees appeared to be linked to improved knowledge of the allocation procedure. However, applicants' level of knowledge varied. Asians tended to be the least knowledgeable. White and Black applicants who had not come through the homeless route were the most knowledgeable.

Another contributory factor to applicants varying knowledge of the allocation system was their historical situation. For example, decant households that had previously been housed as homeless applicants had not been in a position to refuse an offer of housing. Interviewees felt they had previously been constrained by a policy that provided no choice of properties with only one offer of housing. Two of the household interviewed stated they were now willing to refuse housing if offers of

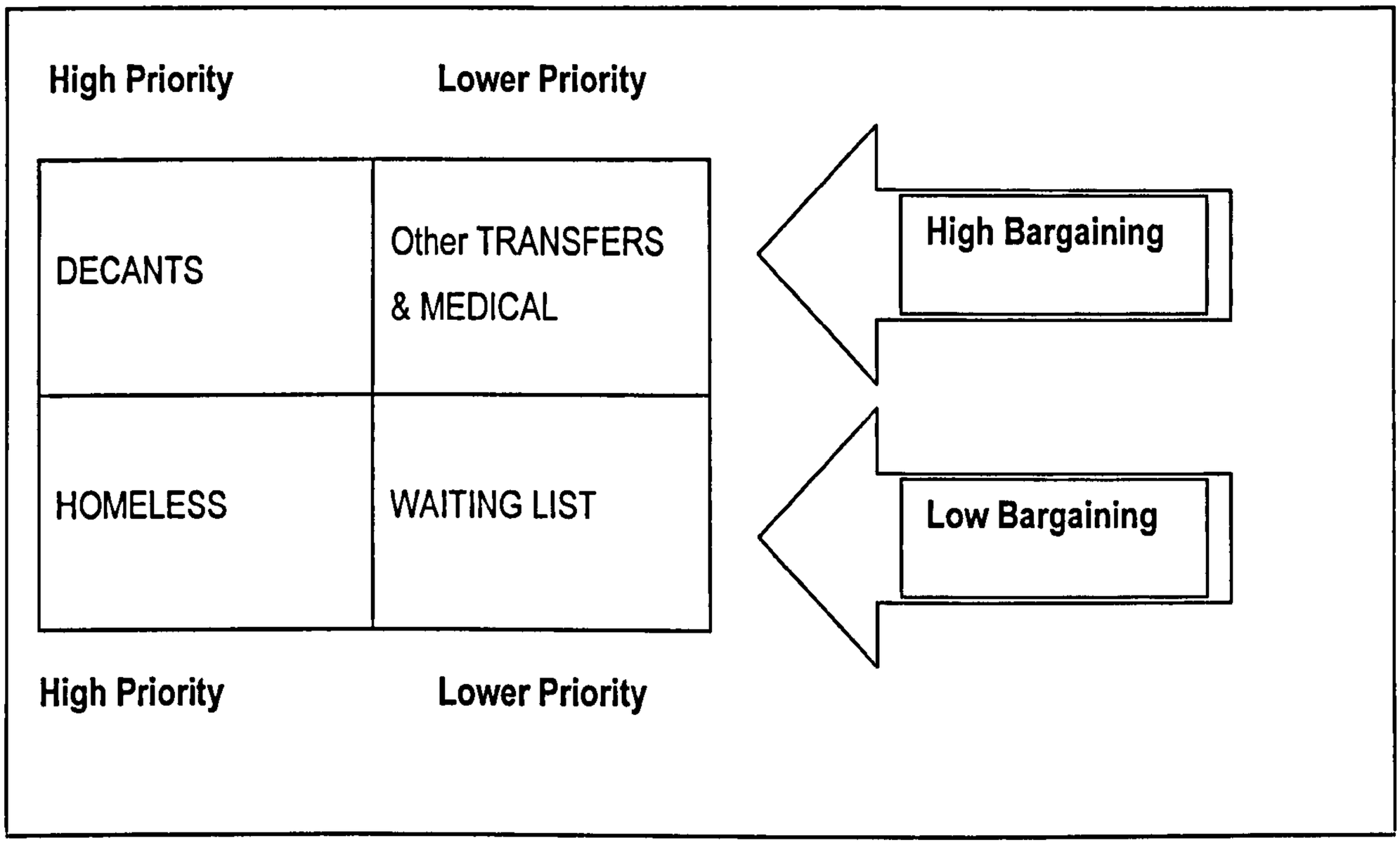
[49] This information was gained from interviews with the Senior lettings Officer for the locality.

housing were not satisfactory. Whilst classified as homeless these tenants had relatively little power in the system, passively waiting for housing. Often, the length of time homeless households spent in temporary housing also affected their perception of the allocation system and their lack of power. Two of the interviewees' families had previously been housed in temporary accommodation outside Tower Hamlets. Their experiences' away from their extended family and community had heightened their sense of isolation and feelings of powerlessness within the allocation system.

The discussion of decant interviews suggest that some decant tenants were empowered by the consultation process, as found by Caincross et al. (1994). Tenants' perceived themselves as relatively powerful in the system. Evidence of this power was apparent in the adamant stance of the tenants interviewed, waiting to receive particular types of housing. Tenants who had not been rehoused were 'waiting' for the 'best' accommodation and locations and were willing to refuse housing they saw as unsuitable. Decanting tenants as part of large regeneration schemes involves an element of public consultation combined with housing assessment interviews. This process could have provided some tenants with additional knowledge of the 'best' housing options in the system. Being a part of these events was not definitively confirmed or tested but is a plausible explanation for their increased confidence and optimism about their chance to receive better quality properties[50].

Applicants in this situation can be viewed as possessing different levels of negotiating power, often directly linked to their housing need classification. This enables applicants to have more influence over their housing choices, particularly the quality and type of housing they receive. Different Levels of negotiating power can thus be attributed to different applicant groups. This is set out in Figure 7.1. The homeless have low power and high housing needs. Chapter 3 discussed several factors that formed the basis of rationing council housing (Marsh and Mullins, 1998: 178). Within this system homeless applicants are most in need and are therefore given a high priority for rehousing but because of rationing, they also have restricted housing choice.

Figure 7.1 Taxonomy of Housing Applicant Bargaining Power



Source: Interviews with tenants on Coventry Cross Estate and allocation Staff.

Transfer cases such as urgent medical have a lower priority but a high bargaining power in the system. Decants have both high needs and high power. Their bargaining power within the housing system can determine their ability to access the most popular areas and the 'best' properties. Conversely within this taxonomy of power, other applicants on the waiting list, not included in the groups already described, would have relatively low power and generally lower housing need.

In conclusion, applicants' understanding of their housing choices and expected outcomes were related to their position in the priority queue for housing. Interviewees felt that their position as 'decants' increased their bargaining power as housing applicants. They realised they were in a stronger position to gain the housing of their choice. A combination of housing knowledge and prior experience in the allocation system was also found to be a contributory factor in the ability of transfer decants to receive better quality housing. The bargaining power that applicants have may affect the outcomes of allocation for other groups. In the following analysis of housing

[50] Interviews with allocation staff, produced similar explanations why tenants refused certain properties and areas.

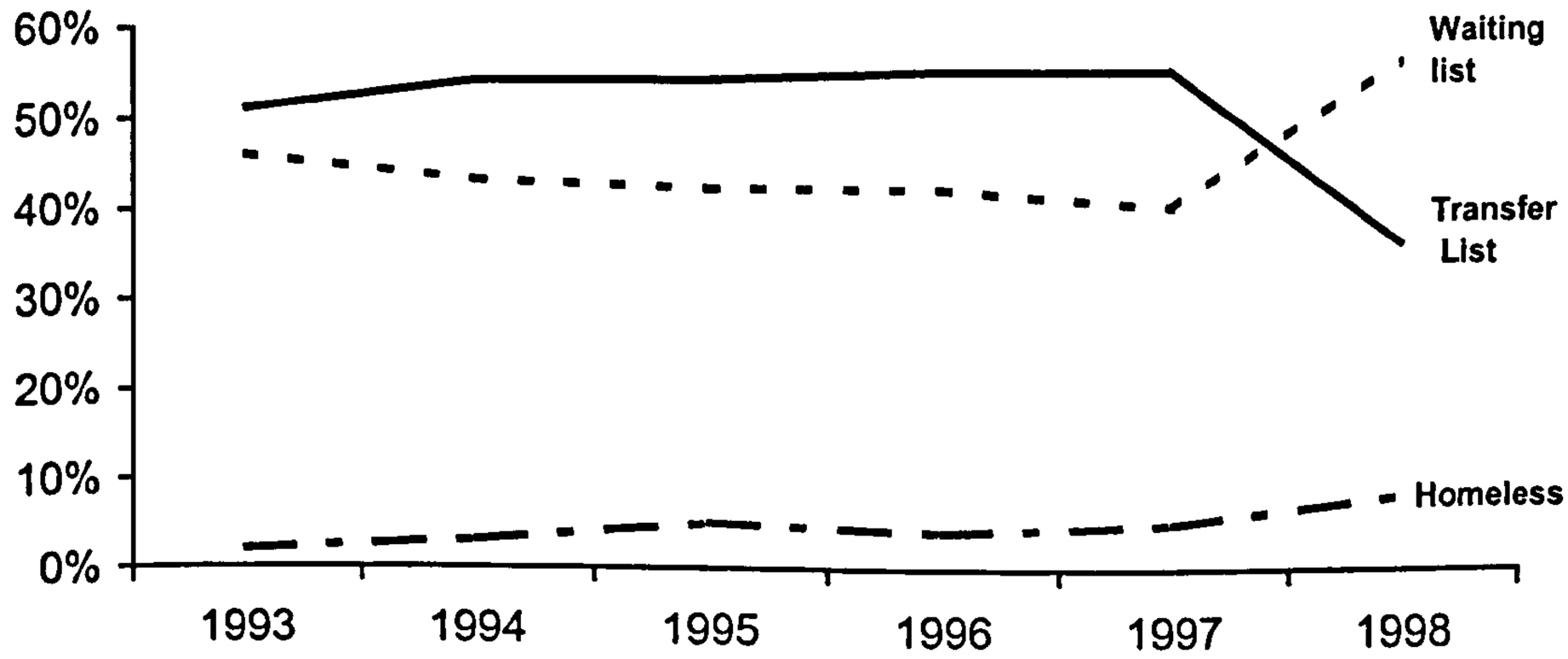
outcomes, this hypothesis will be tested. If it appears that those who are less disadvantaged but more powerful are gaining more of the 'best' quality housing than those in severest need but with less power, this hypothesis would be true.

7.5 UTILITARIAN AND CONSTRAINED INEQUALITY OUTCOMES

Allocation policy may result in outcomes that satisfy different criteria of justice. Earlier Table 7.1 set out four relevant criteria of justice in council housing outcomes. These provided an important tool in assessing the fairness of outcomes achieved in the allocation of new lettings. The case study of outcomes begins with a secondary analysis of all lettings between 1993 and 1999. This will be used to assess the least demanding conceptions of justice; Utilitarian and Constrained Inequality models. From the numbers of people applying for housing and those given new homes (LBTH, Housing Services, 1995b; 1996b). The records show that every year a small proportion of applicants received housing. Consistent annual lettings it can be argued, reflect universal principles of social justice because total welfare improves. However, this does little to address questions of equity.

The principle for Constrained Equality requires a minimum threshold for the amount of housing allocated to each group. Figure 7.2 shows the percentage of applicants registered on housing lists between 1993 and 1998.

Figure 7.2 Applicants Registered by Housing Route 1993 to 1998

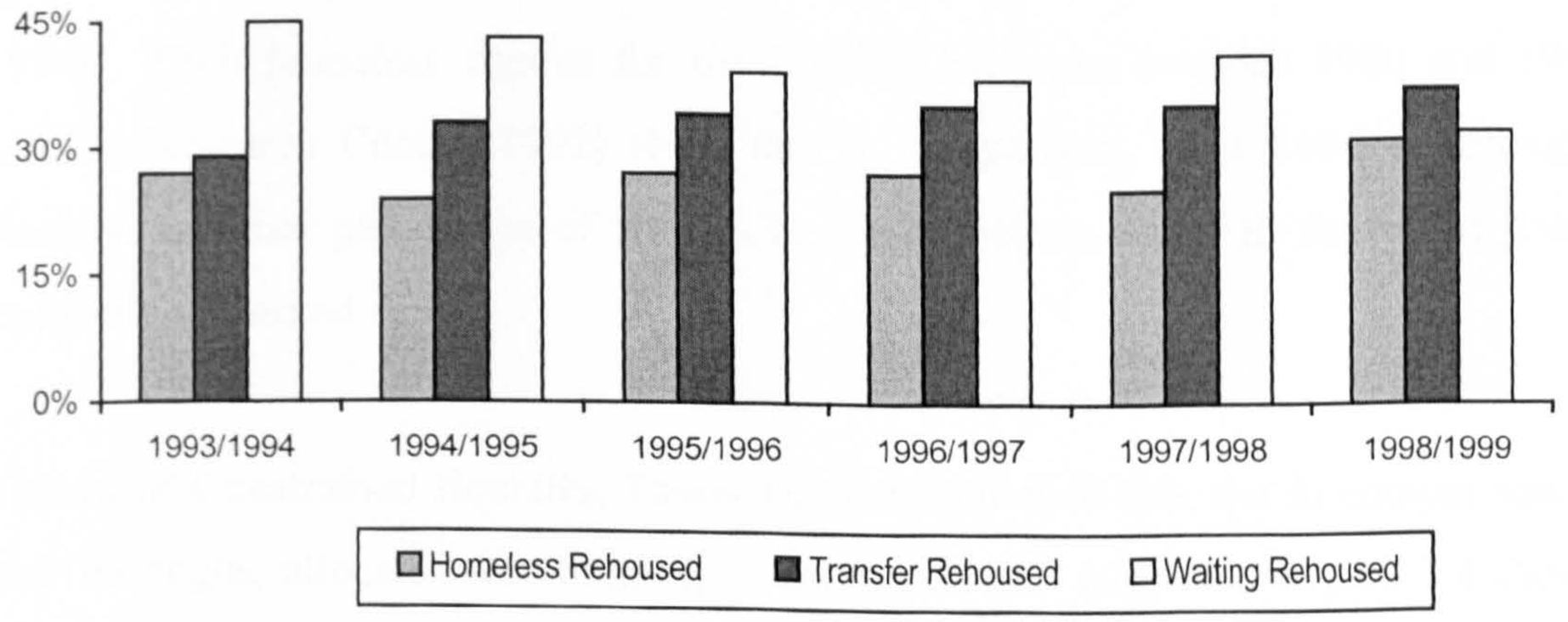


Source: LBTH, Housing Services, 1995; 1996; 1997; 1998; 1999.

The pattern shows different trends within routes; the proportions of homeless applicants have steadily increased, waiting list applications initially decreased and then rose sharply and transfers remained constant up to 1997 and sharply decreased. These demands for council housing reflect the housing market within the borough, where demand from some groups was changing. In the mid 1990s there were several regeneration projects that produced a large number of transfer cases, this subsequently reduced, with a corresponding fall in transfer applicants. However, this decline in the transfers could also be a result of the amendments to the priority system in October 1997, which involved the introduction of different ways of prioritising and recording applicants on to a single housing register (LBTH, Housing Services, 1997). An example, is the position that more than one housing application can be made from a decant property. New rules mean additional household members including adult children and their spouses, would not be housed as transfers but could be categorised and housed separately, through the waiting route[51].

Following a Constrained Inequality model, the existence of various routes to council housing and the need to give some groups a larger share is acceptable, as long as any group does not become substantially worse off. In this way waiting and transfer groups may get less housing so that other groups, the homeless in this situation, can fare better. Figure 7.3 shows how housing has been rationed between the groups. The percentage distributions achieved between 1993 and 1998 are illustrated.

Figure 7.3 Distribution of Tower Hamlets Lettings 1993/4 to 1998/



Source: LBTH, Housing Services, 1995; 1996; 1997; 1998; 1999.

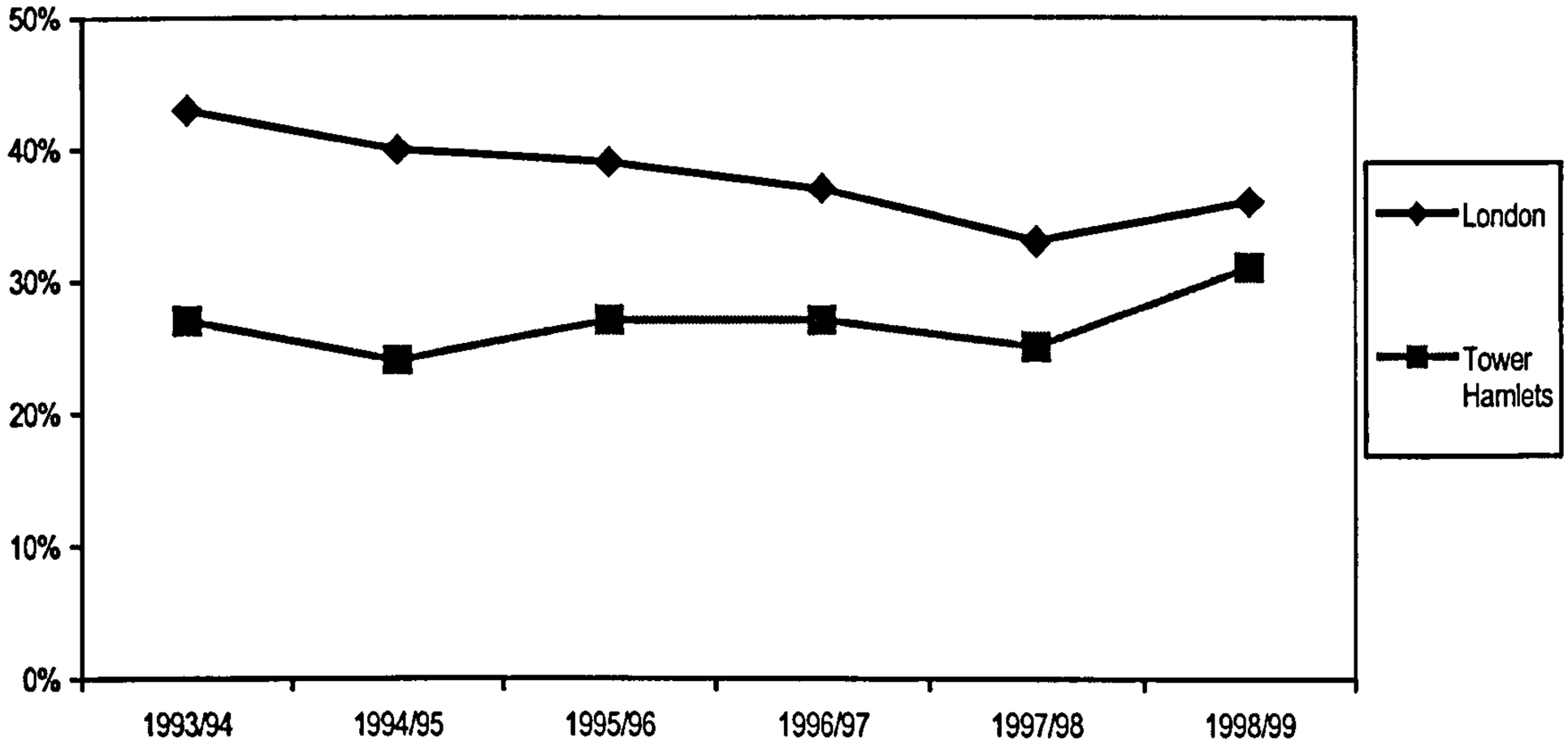
[51] These new rules for decant assessment follows the councils emphasis on overcrowding by reducing one large household to possibly two smaller ones.

The housing distribution to the three rehousing routes shifted significantly in the six year period. Proportions of available tenancies allocated through each route fluctuate every year. Until 1997/98 waiting list cases commanded the largest percentage of lettings. In 1998/99 transfers commanded the greatest proportion. Applicants on the waiting list had the biggest change with a smaller amount allocated through this route toward the end of the period. Those applying through the homeless route were most likely to be rehoused. Though they were only 2% of those registered for housing, they receive substantially more lettings, (average of 27% over the period). It can be argued that universal principles of social justice were achieved at a basic level of the Constrained Inequality model. However, there needs to be some comparison to assess how Tower Hamlets compared with other similar boroughs. Figure 7.4 provides a comparison with the average homeless lettings for all the London boroughs.

The proportion of homeless lettings made in Tower Hamlets was consistently lower than the London average. This may reflect the priorities within the borough, which allocated a smaller share of housing to this group. Various stakeholders, including consultants (Groves and Niner, 1987: 19) the CRE, and community organisations (CRE, 1988; Hewitt and Adams, 1994; Runnymede Trust, 1993) saw this situation as unjust. Hewitt and Adams (1994: 54) observed that in the late 1980s and early 1990s the Housing Department had given a much smaller percentage of lettings to statutory homeless compared to other London boroughs. In their view the borough consistently failed to allocate a fair proportion of council housing to homeless households. The figures collected by the London Research Centre supports Hewitt and Adams views (1994). Their homeless figures for the London boroughs between 1980 and 1993 (London Research Centre, 1992) show that in comparison, other London boroughs allocated a higher percentage of lettings to the homeless, although some had fewer applicants registered.

In terms of Constrained Equality, Tower Hamlets achieved this, but in comparison to other boroughs, allocated less housing to the homeless. However, Figure 7.4 shows that the gap has narrowed and the amount of homeless lettings has increased over the period examined.

Figure 7.4 Comparison of Homeless Lettings in Tower Hamlets and London Average



Source: Housing Figures ODPM, 2002c.

7.6 AN ANALYSIS OF OUTCOMES IN RELATION TO RAWLS' PARETO AND CONTRACTUAL MODELS

This section of the case study provides an in-depth secondary analysis of housing outcomes in Tower Hamlets. This is biased on two datasets containing records on council properties that applicants received. The sample dataset was extracted for the same time interval (January to March) for each year between 1994/1995 and 1998/1999, this amounts to 24 months of data. A separate dataset was used containing the full years records for the years 1995/1996 to 1996/1997 (the significance of these dates was explained in Chapter 4). The variables cover four types of information about individuals housed, their ethnicity, their housing status, the locality of dwellings and the structure of the dwellings. With the available data there are limitations to the scope of the analysis possible. Comments on the findings do not attempt to make general assumptions about outcomes in the borough as they are based on a sample of data.

The four justice principles set out in Table 7.1 are anticipated to produce particular types of housing distributions. The aim of this case study is to explore distributive justice notions in relation to properties received by applicants. Recognising particular notions of justice in housing outcomes legitimises the concepts that are used in distributive aims and objectives. Two models of justice will be considered. Rawls'

Pareto Principle, requires that disadvantaged groups are not over represented in the poorest housing. Rawls Contractual Principle, has a more demanding criterion, because it requires that the group with the most severe housing needs are compensated for their housing disadvantage through receiving better properties. Within the limits of the sample data, the analysis aims to do the following:

1. Classify the relative advantage of applicants prior to accepting a property, in terms of their individual characteristics and housing situation prior to their move; and
2. Examine the relationships between quality of housing received and characteristics of applicant groups in order to establish the most appropriate justice model to describe the outcomes.

7.6.1 Classifying Disadvantage by Group Characteristics

The first step in the analysis involved classifying the relative disadvantage of applicants. Three variables from the data sets were used as indicators of different dimensions of need. These were an applicant's race, their assessed housing need and their route to housing. Chapter 4 explained and defined these groupings. Here the analysis required that groups were ranked in terms of likely relative disadvantage corresponding to severity of need. The ranking is set out in Table A.4 of the Appendix; the following discussion explains how this analysis is used to assess social justice in outcomes.

7.6.2 Ranking Applicants by Housing Need Characteristics

Each housing applicant had been assessed by the housing department to ascertain their housing needs, therefore determining their position in the 'queue' for housing; this produced the housing need variable in the housing dataset (LBTH, Housing Services, 1997). The need categories were reduced from eighteen to six categories of need[52]. Ranking of these categories follows closely the priorities accorded by the local authority; from the most disadvantaged (ranked 1) to a relatively low level of disadvantage (ranked 6).

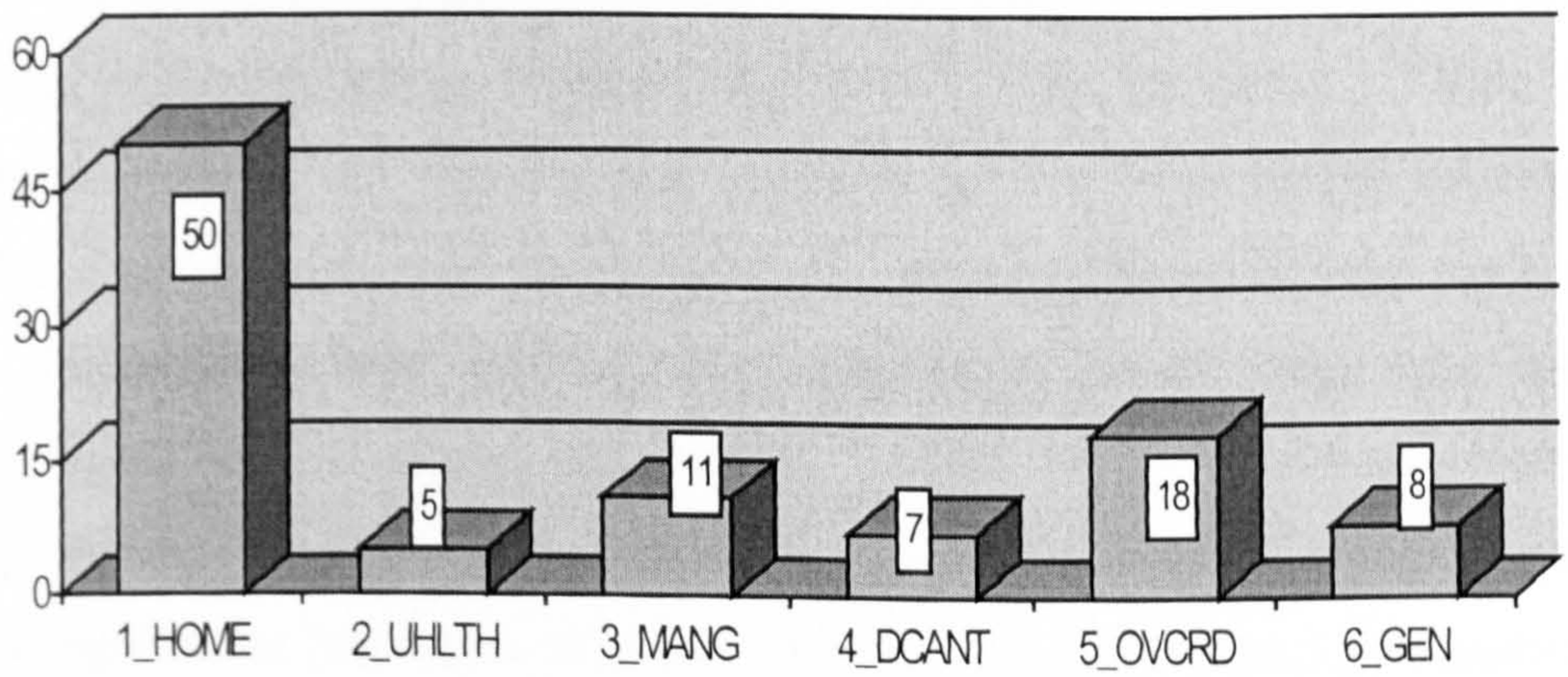
---

[52] During the data collection period two different housing priority system operated, producing a large number of categories see Table A.2 appendix. Both sets were combined and conflated before ranking.

Within the 'housing route' category, homeless cases were ranked the highest. The second ranked group is 'urgent health' applicants. These are cases where the councils' medical advisors have stated that a person's current accommodation is detrimental to their health. The third group, 'management', includes groups where the local authority also has additional responsibilities towards applicants. This may involve other agencies, for example, applicants known to the local social services departments who are suffering serious social problems; and applicants known to the police and referred for new housing as victims of racial or domestic violence. The fourth, 'statutory' groups include applicants whose homes have been issued with closing orders due to dangerous conditions, for example after fire damage or gas explosion. This also includes decant applicants who are being moved because of refurbishment or demolition to their existing housing. The fifth, 'overcrowding' group, includes many applicants who are in properties that are sharing amenities and bedrooms and are classed as overcrowded according to local authority housing policy. The general need group includes all other categories of housing need (see Table A.4, appendix).

Figure 7.5 sets out the sample distribution. Half (50%) of the sample were homeless (1_HOME) applicants the next largest groups are 18% for 'overcrowding' (5_OVCRD) and 11% for 'management' categories (3_MANG) respectively. The smallest groups are 'general needs' (6_GEN) with 8%, decants (4_DCANT) with 7% and 'urgent health' (2_UHLTH) with 5%.

Figure 7.5 Percentage Distribution of Sample Allocations by Housing Category for January to March 1994/1995 to 1998/1999



Data Source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

The assessment procedures for classifying applicants are not always satisfactory. The government review of allocations found that some vulnerable groups were losing out due to inadequate assessment and difficulties with joint agency co-operation in providing suitable housing (DETR, 1997). The conflicting needs of some groups may be systematically affected by the assessment procedures. Thus, problems can develop from the initial classification, where all aspects of need are not fully accounted for in housing assessments (Pleace and Quilgar, 1996: 33-39). Research on adults diagnosed as suffering from mental illness identified this as a problem experienced by applicants in the system (Smith, 1991).

Those with mental illness are often disadvantaged in terms of appropriate housing and historically applicants have had restricted access to council housing. In such cases, individuals may be inadequately housed, as they may not have been awarded an appropriate priority reflecting all dimensions of their need (Smith, 1990). Inequalities may tend to be perpetuated as some applicants may accept housing which may aggravate their situation. Illustrating this situation Collard (1995) found that homeless families in Tower Hamlets were offered housing more quickly due to their homelessness but properties accepted did not meet their health needs. This resulted in further health disadvantage after they were rehoused (Collard, 1995 : 26)

7.6.3 Ranking applicants by housing route characteristic

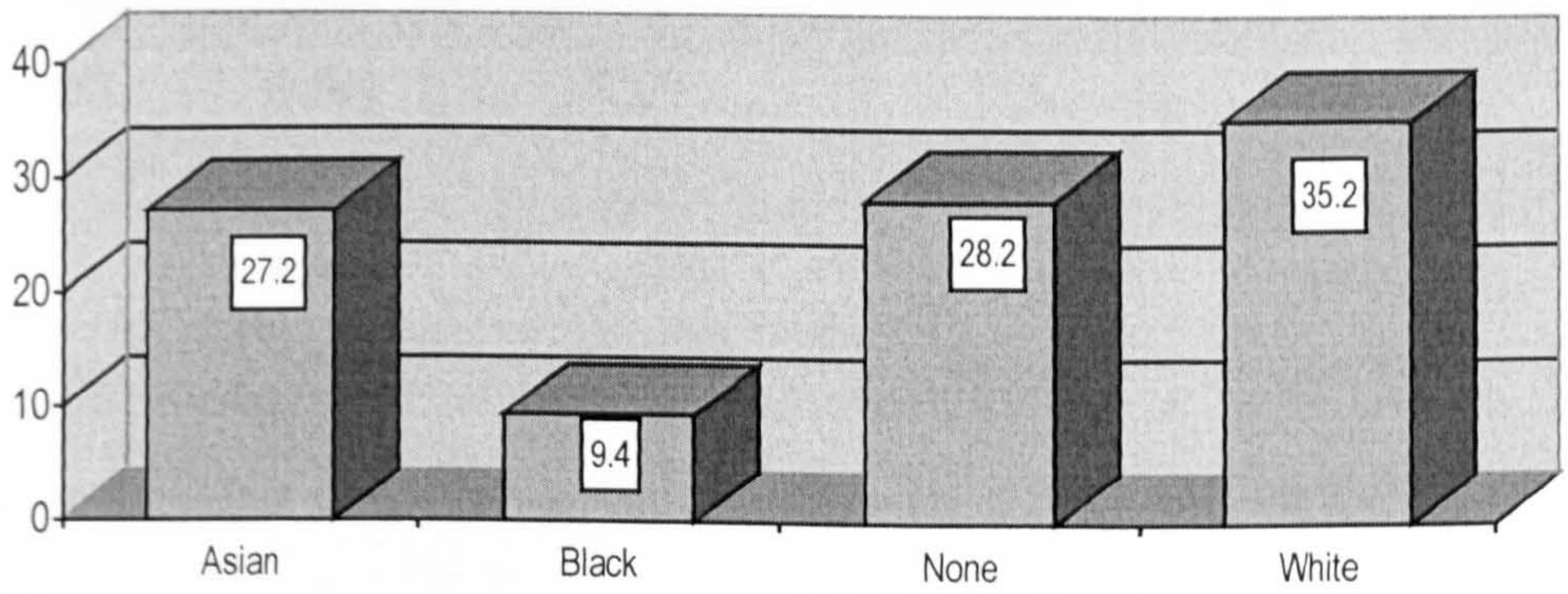
The housing register at the time of data capture categorised applicants into various routes. An applicant's route is decided by their housing circumstances, which are interpreted according to the different eligibility criteria for routes. These directly relate to the 'queue' for housing that applicant are before accepting housing. For example, if an applicant were homeless they would be housed through the homeless route. Following Rawls' Contractual Principles of justice those who are most disadvantaged, would require the greatest benefit in the distributions of social housing. In this respect the homeless route were ranked as the most disadvantaged in terms of egalitarian principles of need. Waiting list groups are less disadvantaged since they have some housing already, and may receive up to two new offers of housing. Transfer groups are ranked as least disadvantaged because they are already

living in council housing.

7.6.4 Ranking Housing Applicants by Racial Characteristics

Ethnic recording in Tower Hamlets (discussed in Chapter 4) requires housing applicants to categorise their own racial identity from three distinct groups. The race groups here follow this convention and are ranked as follows: Asian are seen as the most disadvantaged and are ranked 1, Black applicants are ranked 2, as the second most disadvantaged. White applicants ranked 3 and those applicants those who have refused or have not responded are categorised, as known as 'none' and are ranked least 4. Figure 7.6 shows the proportions of these groups in the sample data set on new lettings. The analysis of outcomes is primarily concerned with housing received by the least advantaged group (White applicants), and the most disadvantaged groups (Asian applicants).

Figure 7.6 Percentage Distribution of Lettings by Ethnicity between January and March for Annual Intervals between 1994/1995 and 1998/1999



Data Source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

The ranking of ethnic categories is based on three sources of information. First, statistical data on housing discrimination in Tower Hamlets had established that Asian and Blacks were the most disadvantaged ethnic groups in housing (explored in the NDN case study in Chapter 5). Secondly at the time of the research, current data on the numbers requiring council housing, showed that there was high demand among the Asian and Black community. This was further substantiated by general historical research on housing and race (see Chapter 3), citing minorities as having higher housing needs.

7.7 OUTCOMES: INTERRELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NEED, ROUTE AND RACE

The characteristics of all three groups are interrelated. One way of determining the nature of the relationships is an analysis of applicants access route to housing broken down by racial groups. Table 7.2 shows the distribution between housing route and racial group.

Table 7.2 Distribution of Housing Route Lettings within Racial Group

		HOMELESS	TRANSFER	WAITING	TOTAL
	Count	1734	761	917	3412
% within	Asian	57%	14%	30%	100.0%
RACES	Black	32%	26%	42%	100.0%
	White	24%	40%	36%	100.0%
	None	86%	7%	7%	100.0%
	Total	51%	22%	27%	100.0%
% WITHIN	Asian	30%	17%	30%	27%
APPLICANT	Black	6%	11%	15%	10%
TYPE	White	17%	63%	47%	35%
	None	47%	9%	8%	28%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Data Source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Table 7.2 shows that within the sample 51% of lettings had been allocated to households within the homeless route. Households on the waiting list received the next largest proportion 27% followed by transfer cases who received less than half the number of homeless lettings with 22%. Within racial groups, the distribution of lettings within the three housing routes varied. Asians had higher than average levels of rehousing via the homeless route (57%) with only two-thirds the expected proportion of transfer lettings – 14%.

In contrast, Black households had a smaller distribution of its lettings from the homeless route (32%), there were higher levels from the transfer queue but were over represented amongst waiting list – with 42% of all lettings to Black households

occuring through the waiting list route. The small proportion of Black homeless route may reflect the growing numbers of Black single homeless in the borough who are not accounted for in the statutory homeless figures (Ye-Myint, 1992). This contrasted with White households that had a different housing distribution; the homeless route accounted for 24% of lettings with their proportion of lettings to transfer cases being almost twice the average proportion at 40%. Within the housing routes a similar picture of the racial distribution emerges. The largest proportion 63% of transfer route applicants is White. Nearly half of those in the homeless housing route (47%) do not have a recorded race, of those recorded the largest (30%) are Asian applicants. White applicants (47%) are the largest racial group allocated housing through the waiting list.

The housing department's assessment of an applicant's housing status also represents their disadvantage, and this is reflected in their housing need category. Table 7.3 shows the racial breakdown of these categories, which provides an estimate of the variation in housing need.

Table 7.3 Applicant's Housing Need by Racial Group

		1_ HOME	2_ UHTH	3_ MANG	4_ DCANT	5_ OVCR	6_ GEN	TOTAL
	COUNT	1711	172	384	252	628	265	3412
% within	Asian	55%	3%	5%	7%	26%	3%	100.0%
RACES	Black	32%	4%	13%	12%	29%	10%	100.0%
	White	23%	10%	20%	10%	21%	16%	100.0%
	None	85%	2%	5%	3%	4%	1%	100.0%
	Total	51%	5.0%	11%	7%	18%	8%	100.0%
% WITHIN	Asian	30%	19%	13%	24%	39%	11%	27%
APPLICANT	Black	6%	7%	11%	16%	15%	12%	10%
	White	16%	65%	62%	48%	40%	74%	35%
TYPE	None	48%	9%	14%	12%	6%	3%	28%
	Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Data Source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

White households received their largest proportional share of the 'urgent health' lettings (65%), general needs (74%) and 'management' (63%) rehousing routes. Most Asians (55%) are housed as homeless or 'overcrowding' (39%) cases. Reflecting their high levels of overcrowding and homelessness in the community. The largest proportion of Black applicants are rehoused via the decant route, with one in six decant lettings being an allocation to a Black applicant. However, in numeric terms, 32% of Black applicants were housed as homeless a further 29% as having overcrowding needs. These results suggest that there is a significant relationship between applicant groups and race. However, this is complex and may have implications for the interpretations of the remainder of the analysis.

7.8 OUTCOMES AND QUALITY OF PROPERTIES RECEIVED

Over the last two decades, a key debate in council housing has been the quality of council housing received by applicants. Thus, for an assessment of social justice, the research question is not just concerned with what is a fair distribution in terms of housing received, but also concerns the 'relative quality' of the type of housing. In the methods Chapter 4, the techniques used to construct a quality variable were explained. This produced a variable that represented four levels of quality in the housing received by applicants. Quality in the council housing stock is defined using structural information based on the type of housing, floor level, presence of a lift and the amount of central heating assigned to a property. Consequently, council housing received was then classified into four quality bands: 'poor', 'average', 'good' and 'best'. This section investigates the variation in the quality of housing received among different applicant groups. Plate 7.1 ('poor' housing), Plate7.2 ('average' housing), Plate 7.3 ('good' housing) and Plate 7.4 ('best' housing) illustrates examples of properties classified within each of these four bands. As grading depends on the structural features of the property appearances are not indicative of the quality of accommodation.

Plate 7.1 'Poor' Quality Housing: Tower Hamlets Minerva Estate 2001

Plate 7.2 'Average' Quality Housing: Tower Hamlets Wellington Estate 2001

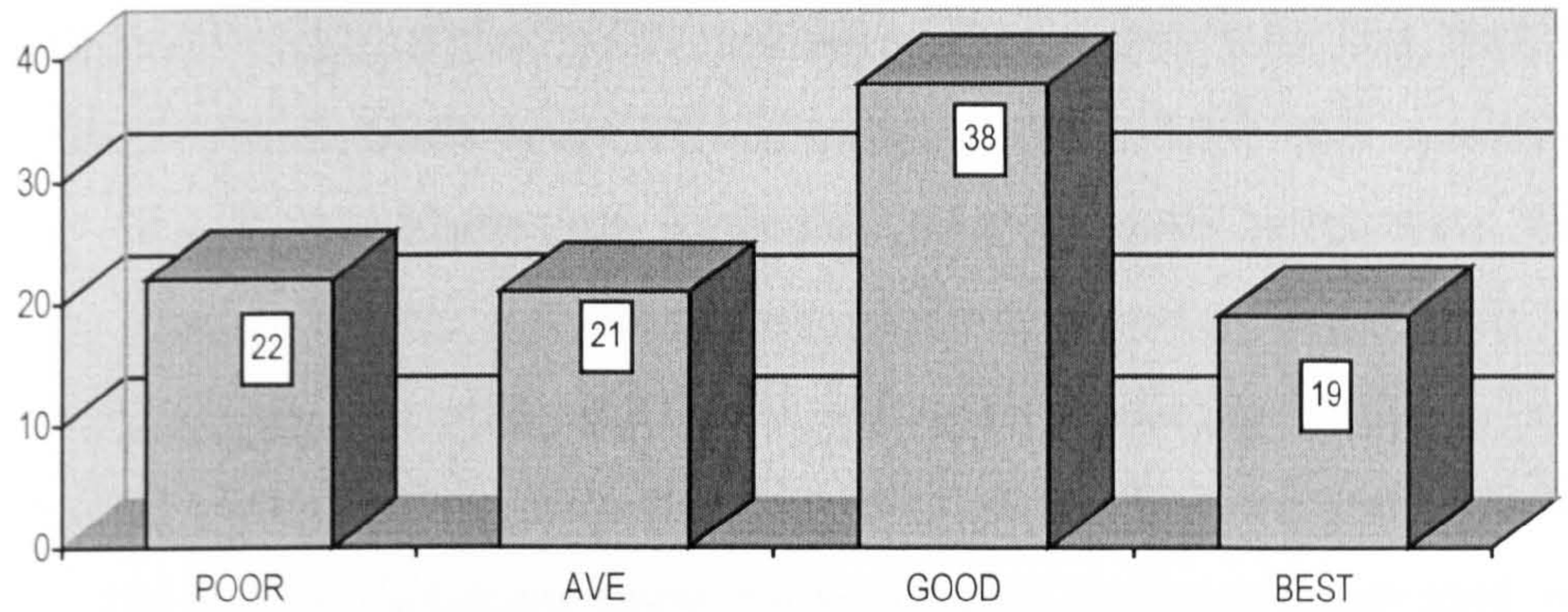
Source: Photographs taken by Researcher in Tower Hamlets, June 2001

Plate 7.3 Specialist Elderly Flats Representing 'Good' Quality Housing.

Plate 7.4 'Best' Quality Housing on Ranwell Estate 2001

Source: Photographs taken by Researcher in Tower Hamlets, June 2001

Figure 7.7 Percentage Distribution of Quality within the Sample Data



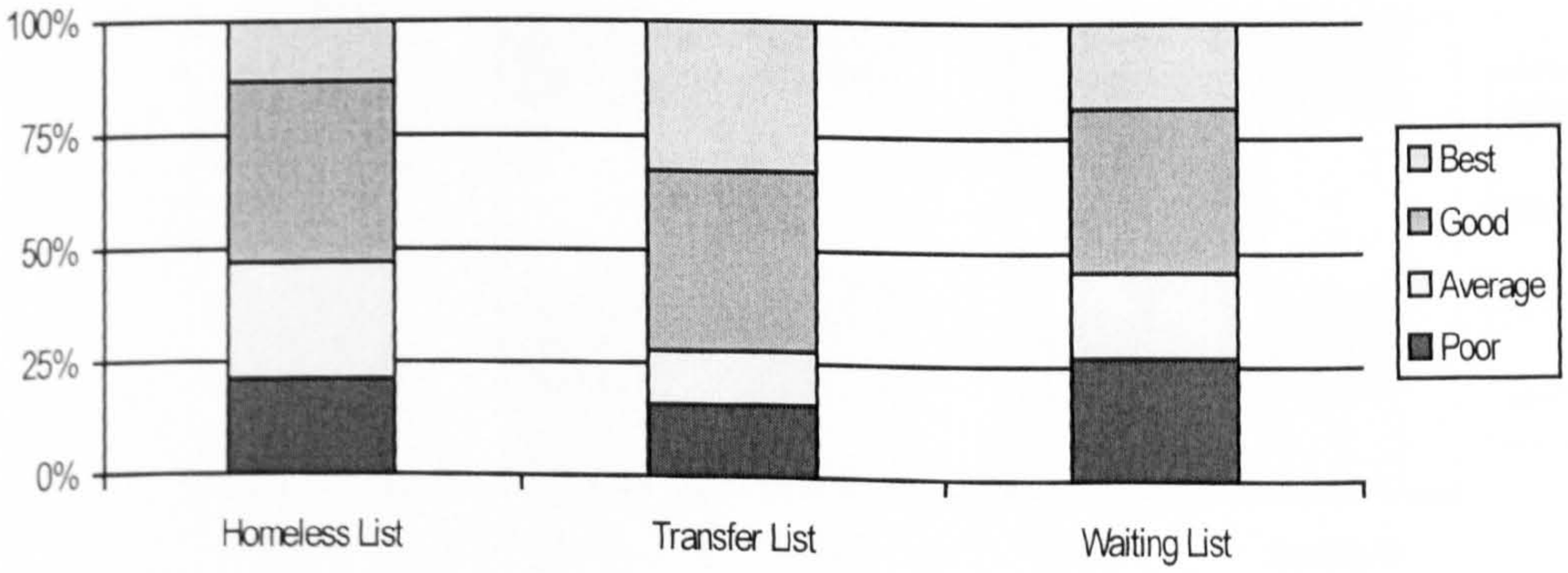
Data Source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Figure 7.7 shows the proportion of allocated tenancies in each quality category in the distribution of new lettings in the sample. The largest proportion of housing is 'good' (38%). The remainder of properties are 'poor' (22%), 'average' (21%) and 'best' (19%). The research question for the data analysis focus on the 'poor' and 'best' properties evaluating how different applicant groups fared in the distribution of outcomes.

7.8.2 Examination of Housing Route against Quality of Housing

This analysis concerns the relationship between quality of housing and applicants' characteristics. The route into housing reflects an applicant's access to the council housing system. There are three routes and these are ranked by disadvantage. The homeless are the most disadvantaged, followed by those on the waiting list, and the least disadvantaged are transfer cases. Analysis of housing route in terms of quality is shown in Figure 7.8, these distributions are interpreted as follows.

Figure 7.8 Distribution of Housing Quality within Housing Routes



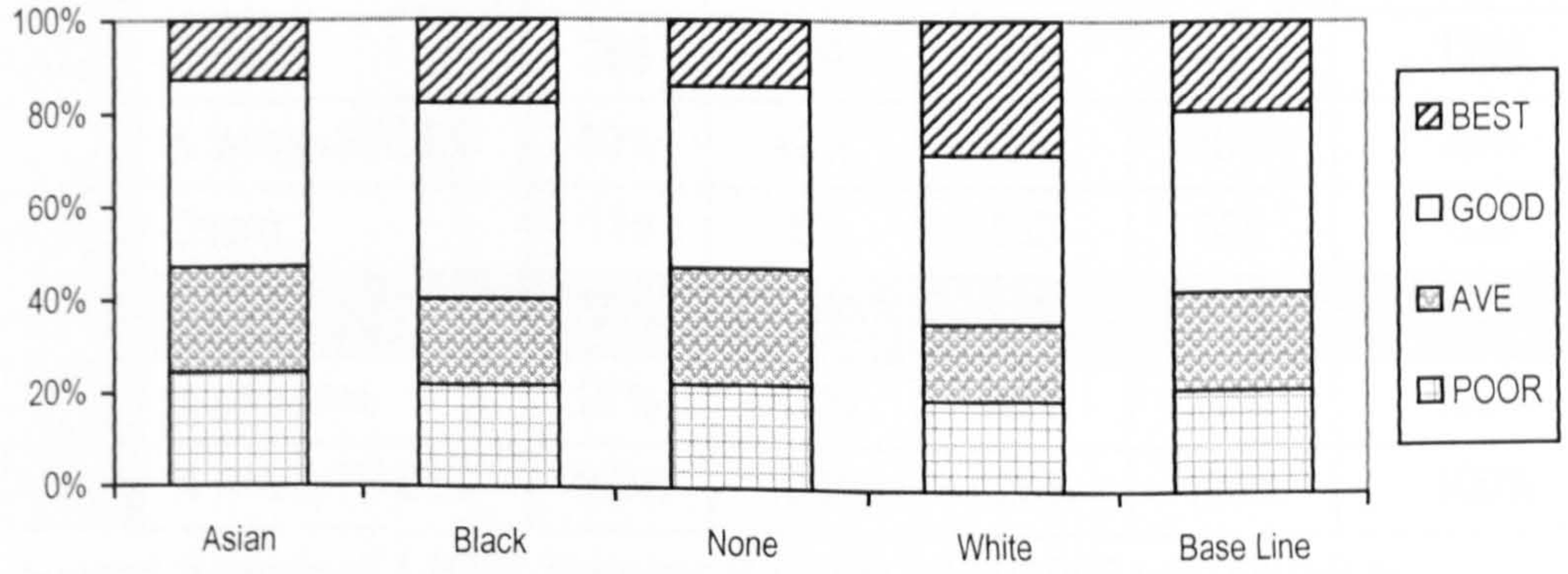
Source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Figure 7.8 shows that a small proportion of applicants (13%) housed through the homeless route received the 'best' housing. This amounts to less than half the proportion of transfer cases where 33% of transfers received the 'best' quality lettings. About a fifth (21%) of homeless applicants received 'poor' properties. However, homeless applicants were not disproportionately allocated a larger share of these poorer quality dwellings which is 22% for the whole sample (see Figure 7.7). Among transfer applicants, the proportion receiving poor quality housing was the smallest of all the routes (16%). Outcomes show that waiting list route applicants tend to receive the highest proportional share of 'poor' properties (27%) and only an average share of the 'best' quality housing. These distributions tend to support the hypothesis that applicants bargaining power is an important determinant of housing quality. The ability of some applicants to negotiate for the better properties, and the housing department's necessity to house them quickly, is illustrated in transfer case receiving the largest proportion of 'best' and waiting list the largest share of 'poor' properties.

7.8.3 Examination of Race against Housing Quality

Housing allocation between the different racial groups varies as illustrated in Figure 7.9. Applicants belonging to the White group appear most likely (28%) to receive 'best' properties and least likely (19%) to receive one of the 'poor' properties. Among Asian applicants the distribution showed the smallest share of 'best' properties (13%) and the largest share of 'poor' housing (25%). Black applicants also had 22% of 'poor' properties. Similar proportions of Black (40%) and Asian (42%) groups receive 'good' properties, a little more than for the White group (36%).

Figure 7.9 Allocations to Each Ethnic Group by Quality of Property



Data Source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

To evaluate the groups more effectively the quality distribution in the whole sample is used as a baseline from which to compare the distribution of the groups (Figure 7.7). Table 7.4 shows both the quality distribution for racial groups and the sample baseline. 'Best' the highest quality grade accounted for 19% of properties in the sample. However, the distribution between the racial groups varied. White applicants had the highest incidence of 'best' housing received (28%). Black applicants had just below the overall percentage of best properties 18% and Asian applicants had lower than average proportions 13%. This illustrates that in proportional terms White applicants received substantially more 'best' quality housing than the base line distribution. Their disproportionately high proportions of 'best' quality was combined with much lower amounts for 'average' and 'good' housing.

Within the sample of lettings, 22% of properties are classified 'poor', however White applicants received a lower proportion (19%). They also received only 16% of 'average' housing whilst the baseline was 21%. For Asians the share of 'poor' and 'average' properties was larger than the base line. Black applicants equalled the baseline for 'poor' properties, achieved less 'average' but more 'good' housing.

Table 7.4 Quality of Lettings by Ethnic Group: Sample Data

QUALITY	CATEGORY	ASIAN	BLACK	NONE	WHITE	BASELINE
	COUNT	914	320	947	1188	3,369
-1=POOR		224	70	210	229	733
	% WITHIN RACES	24%	22%	22%	19%	22%
0=AVE		209	59	237	194	699
	% WITHIN RACES	23%	18%	25%	16%	21%
1=GOOD		366	134	368	430	1298
	% WITHIN RACES	40%	42%	39%	36%	38%
2=BEST	COUNT	115	57	132	335	639
	% WITHIN RACES	13%	18%	14%	28%	19%
	% OF TOTAL	27%	10%	28%	35%	100%
TOTAL	% WITHIN RACES	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Data Source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

In general the distribution within the racial groups showed disproportionately more lettings of 'best' properties to White applicants and disproportionately more poorer quality properties being received by Asian and Black applicants. Thus, over representation of some grades of housing to groups is clearly observed in patterns of housing allocation, illustrating that racial groups vary in the quality of property they each receive.

7.8.4 Examination of Quality against Housing Need

Housing need groups relate to assessed needs of applicants requiring housing. Table 7.5 shows the proportional shares of housing quality for each housing need group.

Table 7.5 Quality of Housing within each Housing Need Group: Sample Data.

QUALITY		Housing Need Rank						
		1_ HOMELESS	2_ HEALTH	3_ MANAG	4_ DECANT	5_ OVRCR	6_ GENERAL	TOTAL
POOR	COUNT	363	3	71	34	210	52	733
	% WITHIN HOUSING NEED	22%	2%	19%	14%	34%	20%	22%
AVE	COUNT	438	3	59	26	122	51	699
	% WITHIN HOUSING NEED	26%	2%	15%	10%	20%	20%	21%
GOOD	COUNT	676	46	163	116	206	91	1298
	% WITHIN HOUSING NEED	40%	27%	43%	46%	33%	35%	38%
BEST	COUNT	210	116	88	75	85	65	639
	% WITHIN HOUSING NEED	12%	69%	23%	30%	14%	25%	19%
TOTAL	COUNT	1687	168	381	251	623	259	3369
	% WITHIN HOUSING NEED	50%	5%	11%	7%	18%	8%	100%
	% OF TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Data Source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Table 7.5 shows the quality distribution amongst six rehousing routes. Those within the overcrowding group (34%) were most likely to be allocated 'poor' quality properties. Decant applicants were less likely to receive 'poor' property (14%). The category of 'urgent health' received the largest proportion of 'best' properties (69%) amongst their lettings. This reflects their housing requirements which often specified that they need accommodation on lower levels or houses, rather than higher floors for their health needs. The homeless group were least likely to be allocated the 'best' properties with the smallest relative share of 'best' quality (12%). About a third (30%) of 'decant' tenants receive 'best' housing, this is the largest relative share of the 'best' quality housing. Among the decant group a combined figure of 76% received either 'good' or 'best' housing compared to 52% of the homeless needs group.

7.9 EXPLANATIONS OF SURVEY OUTCOMES

The data showed that White applicants received a disproportionately large shares of properties classified as 'best'. This distribution may be attributed to several factors. Previous research has shown that this may be connected to an applicant's length of residency and their knowledge of the allocation system (LBTH, Policy Strategy, 1992d). The ability to negotiate the system is also evident from the high proportions of White applicants in 'urgent health' priority. This may have contributed to the high proportion of 'best' housing received by 'urgent health' applicants (discussed below). To be accorded medical priority necessitates additional steps in the assessment procedures for housing. Research has shown knowledge of these procedures are lacking among ethnic minority groups (Skellington, 1981; Jacobs 1985). Medical housing accounts for only a small numbers of cases among the homeless group (Collard, 1995: 8). This suggests that an explanation of the higher proportion of 'best' housing received by White applicants may be linked to their larger numbers within the medical housing system.

Asian applicants were more likely to receive 'poor' quality property and less likely to receive the 'best' quality. Contextual factors such as knowledge and choice of area may have reduced chances of better quality housing for Black and Asian applicants. These may be explanatory factors for the small amount of 'best' housing they

received. This idea has been supported by the interviews but cannot be corroborated from these findings.

Within the three routes for receiving accommodation, the transfer group seem more likely to receive the 'best' properties. An applicant's knowledge of council housing can affect their ability to challenge or demand better housing (Clapham and Kintrea, 1984; 266). In this case transfers would be more aware of procedures, as part of the decant process (LBTH, 1997). Between 1995 and 1998 Tower Hamlets had several major regeneration projects, this put a considerable amount of pressure on the housing department to rehouse tenants quickly. At the same time this increases the bargaining power of transfer applicants to achieve the 'best' housing before vacating properties. Their situation may explain their ability to receive high proportions of the 'best' quality council housing. The outcomes here seem to confirm the model of applicant's bargaining power because groups that are less disadvantaged but with more negotiating power received more of the 'best' quality housing seen in the outcomes for decants.

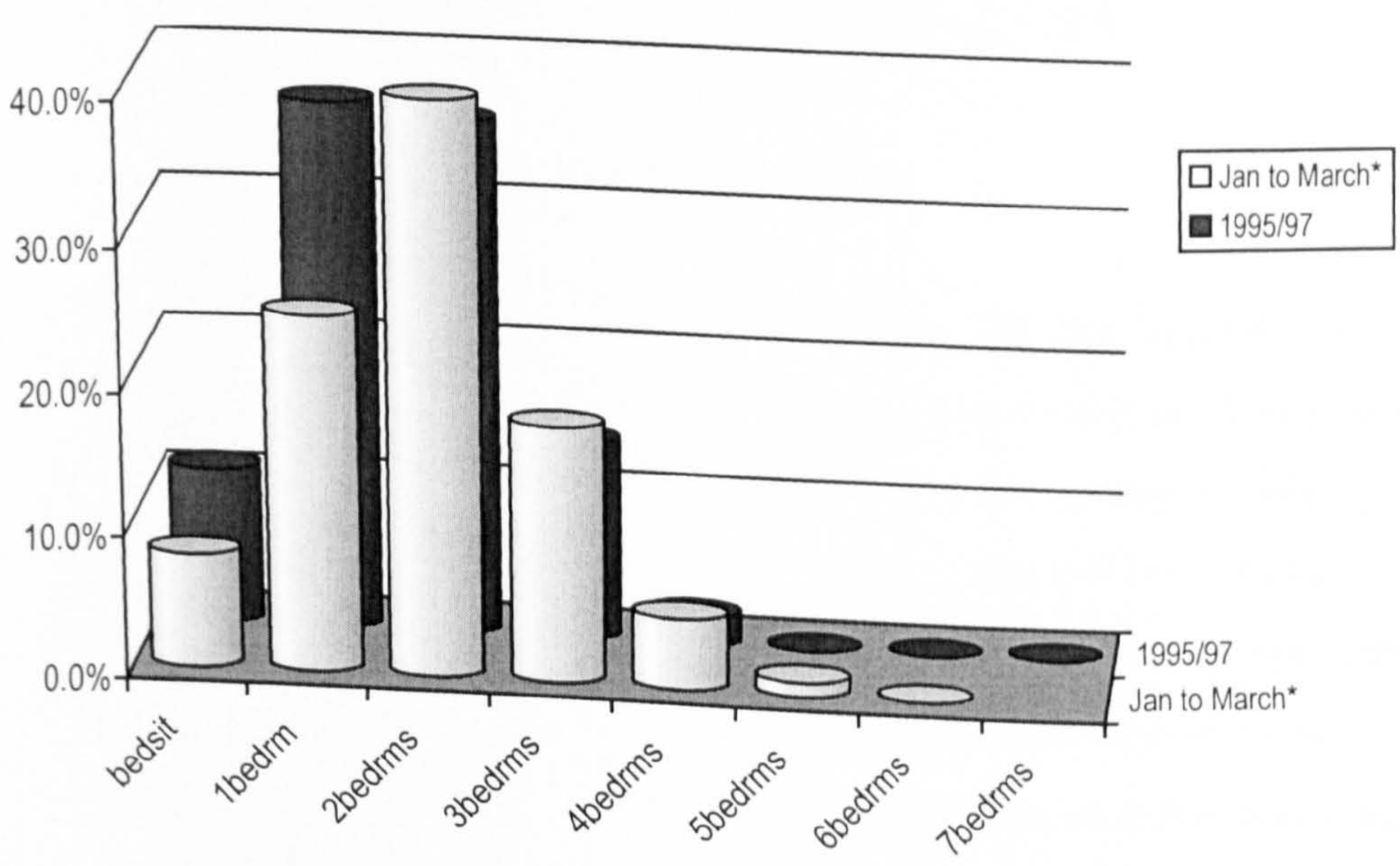
The allocation policy operated by Tower Hamlets may also contribute to an explanation of outcomes. Within their allocations system, homeless cases are given one offer of housing under the 'amended lettings criteria' policy. This policy provides homeless applicants with relatively fast rehousing but with a weakened level of negotiating power in the system. Applicants already in a property (e.g. those on the transfer list, or on the waiting list for rehousing) have the option of whether to accept or refuse housing. Tenants who are already living in Tower Hamlets may have less severe needs, and are able to wait until they eventually receive better housing offers. The homeless are least able to wait for housing, and therefore have little choice in the quality of housing they accept.

In general, outcomes of housing quality within need groups, showed that the homeless, (the most disadvantaged applicants), did not receive the largest share of the worst housing. However, the findings did show that applicants that were overcrowded tended to receive the worst housing. This may be due to two factors, large size

properties being in areas of 'poor' quality housing (supply) and also the requests for large properties (demand) originating in these areas of 'poor' housing.

Figures in Chapter 5 showed that Asian families had larger household sizes and had their largest concentrations of population in deprived areas. Comparison of the size of properties received between the sample and the full records in Figure 7.10 showed that the sample data contained fewer bedsit, and 1 bedroom properties, but more 2, 3, 4 and 5 bedroom properties. This may account for high proportions of the 'overcrowding' group (see Table 7.5) receiving poorer properties, as more of the larger properties are in poorer areas (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1994; 1996). A larger sample and more detailed information on housing stock is needed before a clearer explanation of the link between property size and quality can be explored. These issues will be explored further in Chapter 8, which focuses on localities.

Figure 7.10 Comparison of Bedroom Size in Sample and All Lettings



Data Source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

In contrast, those with 'urgent health' needs had the largest proportional share of good or 'best' property. This may be symptomatic to the long-term policy objective of improving the health of the borough's population through better housing (Curtis, 1983; Tower Hamlets Health Authority, 1988). Within Tower Hamlets links with poor health and housing conditions has shown to be most prevalent in the Bangladeshi

community (Hyndman, 1990; Ambrose, 1996a). However, only a small proportion of Asian and Black applicants were housed in the 'urgent health' category. Health status among minority housing applicants has shown to be inadequately assessed, and this may account for these small distributions (Smith, 1990; 1991). Overall those with health factors affecting their housing needs faired well, confirming general trends that council housing benefits the chronically sick and disabled (Dunn, 2000).

In concluding the analysis it is important to reiterate that inferences have to be understood in the light of the limits of the data. The interrelationships between applicant characteristics, need, route and race are complex. Analysing lettings using different concepts of justice produced an evaluation of outcomes in terms of egalitarian notions of justice. However, the precise nature and the strength of the relationship cannot be determined accurately by a bivariate analysis of groups[53]. Despite these limitations the examination of the data shows some emerging patterns for different groups in the final stage of the allocation process and identified some applicable models of justice from which outcomes can be judged.

7. 9.1 Notions of Justice and Housing Outcome

Four notions of justice were introduced at the start of this analysis of housing outcomes. Each produced potentially different demand on the level of justice that could be attained from the allocation process. The assessment of the allocation outcomes described here can be interpreted in terms of these ideas of social justice. Table 7.6 summarises the conclusions about social justice drawn from the analysis of outcomes and interviews in this chapter. Table 7.6 represents outcomes of allocation that were evaluated using the four alternative models of justice set out in column 1. In column 2, the Table introduces how justice is implemented to produce different levels of equality in allocation outcomes, providing the institutional context of the outcomes. Column 3 describes the outcomes sought in the analyses, which would correspond to the equality criterion stipulated by each conception of social justice.

---

[53] A multiple regression analysis may give a stronger indication of how these interrelationships relate to housing allocation. However, for this comparisons of justice concepts a bivariate analysis is significant.

Table 7.6 Theories of Social Justice Achieved in Council Housing Outcomes

THEORIES OF SOCIAL JUSTICE (1)	HOW IMPLEMENTED (2)	IMPLEMENTATION IN ALLOCATION SYSTEM (3)	CASE STUDY OUTCOMES (4)	EVIDENCE OF JUSTICE IN OUTCOMES (5)	JUSTICE ACHIEVED (6)
^UTILITARIAN	As the basis of all allocation in the area	A constant or growing proportion of all those eligible for housing are allocated tenancies.	Total properties allocated in relation to those waiting in borough.	Evidence from policy documents show some from all routes are housed	✓
#CONSTRAINED INEQUALITY	Set by housing managers, reviewed six monthly.	An agreed proportion of all the groups eligible for housing are allocated tenancies.	The proportional shares of housing received by applicant group is constrained in borough	Constant increasing proportions of those demanding housing are housed.	✓
*PARETO (RAWLS LESS)	At the local level by allocation managers, monitored centrally.	Housing allocated by need, the least advantaged housed quickly and not disproportionately in the 'poor' housing band.	The share of 'poor' housing received by the most dis-advantaged groups (homeless and Asian groups) should not be disproportionately high.	The amount of the most dis-advantaged groups receiving 'poor' housing is similar or larger than that for less advantaged groups.	?
**RAWLS (CONTRACTUAL)	Not part of allocation policy intent or profile.	Housing allocated quickly to the most disadvantaged group who receive a large share of the 'best' housing.	Lettings made to applicant groups to compensate for their assessed need, so larger share of the 'best' housing goes to those with most severe needs.	Needy applicants are under represented in the 'best' housing.	X

Developed from: ^Brown, 1990: 37-41; #Smith, 1977: 141-143, #Harvey, 1973 113-118; *Rawls 1972: 303; **Rawls 1972: 302

Column 4 summarises what the analysis revealed in terms of evidence that allocation outcomes related to differentiated criteria, for the four defined levels of social justice. Column 5 concludes the table by stating whether the results from the analysis met the intended equality criterion. Identifying the process by which justice is being pursued provides background to the assessment outcomes. This then contributes to the understanding of the application of social justice to the allocation process.

The results show that a just distribution of outcomes in terms of the criterion of equality was met in relation to two models of social justice, Utilitarian and Constrained Equality. Rawls' Pareto model was partly achieved and Rawls' Contractual Model was not. Justice according to utilitarian notions was achieved since an increasing proportion of those applying for housing received accommodation, as demonstrated in policy documents. Tower Hamlets' housing policy of setting annual targets for various applicant groups enabled a fair distribution, in terms of Rawls' Constrained Equality, to be achieved. This target system (which is reviewed every six months) ensures that all groups receive a share of the 'best' properties, and no group is over represented in poor quality accommodation beyond a given level (LBTH, Performance Review, 1993b).

Egalitarian concepts of justice suggest that the most severe and urgent needs (especially the homeless) may be given higher priority with some concessions such as the receipt of good housing. In reality, applicants are likely to be offered, and have to accept poorer standard housing because of constraints produced by physical factors such as the poor condition of housing stock (see Chapter 5). This is combined with, the reduction in the available rented council housing in some areas, due to the 'right to buy' policy which, also means there are fewer properties classed as 'best' (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1996). Thus, only some elements of this concept of justice can be obtained from outcomes.

Justice according to Rawls Pareto notion was partly achieved. The proportion of the most disadvantaged in terms of route and need (the 'homeless'), receiving the poorest quality housing, is smaller or similar than that received by more advantaged groups

('waiting' route or 'overcrowding' needs). However, within races, for Asian applicants, the Rawls Pareto criteria is not achieved, as they received a disproportionately high share of 'poor' quality housing. The council introduced a single offer to homeless applicants and so it is likely that those most disadvantaged may not be able to access the 'good' properties. Consequently, justice may not be achieved based on Rawls contractual criteria, but would partly fulfill the lesser demand of his Pareto model.

The findings show that in most cases, the proportions of 'best' properties, received by the more advantaged group (White), was larger than, the proportion for more disadvantaged groups the Asian and Black applicants. This was also true between the housing route with the most advantaged group transfers receiving a large share of 'best' properties. This analysis suggests the criterion for the most demanding notion of a just distribution, according to Rawls' contractual notion, was not met. This would require a pattern of housing allocation that showed that the most disadvantaged groups (the homeless and non-White racial groups) were compensated for their housing disadvantage by being over represented among those receiving the 'best' properties. This was not found to be the case. To achieve such an outcome would require policy objectives that prioritised the compensatory nature of council house lettings. Such positive discrimination in favour of disadvantaged groups was not evident from the policy analysis in earlier chapters and was not borne out by the results of this analysis.

The demands of Rawls contractual model would be difficult to implement. Particularly as management practices and procedures would require radical changes. In Tower Hamlets, homeless applicants account for over a quarter of lettings, although they make up less than 10% of applicants registered for housing (LBTH, Housing Services, 1996a). Thus, housing was strongly associated with providing for those in severest need. This makes it more problematic for the housing department to meet requirements, for the more demanding models of justice for all its applicants. Given the amount and nature of the housing stock, it is impossible to house all homeless applicants, even if they were always given overriding priority, compared with other

groups. Local politics and socio-economic deprivation also compounds the difficulty of achieving justice by allocating homeless people a disproportionate share of the best council housing.

7.10 CONCLUSION

In the last chapter, observations were made of attitudes and ideas that were implicit or explicit in actions about social justice in different localities. In this chapter, the thesis concentrated on concepts of justice exhibited in outcomes. It has been argued that numerical measures cannot be directly applied to the evaluation of ideas and principles (Pettit, 1980). Justice cannot be measured or statically analysed in the strict mathematical sense. Thus, the most appropriate model for assessment was evaluations against the criteria of four social justice conceptions. These criteria were used to judge the outcomes of housing allocations as reported in computerised records. In addition it used information from interviews with tenants, key informants and documents to make comparative and contextual evaluation of justice through types of properties received. The evaluation provided interesting insights into how notions of justice can be applied to different types of outcomes in council housing. The analysis developed a methodology of investigation that enabled some assessment of implicit and explicit views of justice in lettings.

This chapter has concentrated on variations in the quality of individual dwellings allocated to tenants and the distribution of housing to various groups. The quality and amount of council housing is also closely connected to locality, therefore a geographical assessment of housing outcomes is important to an understanding of social justice. An examination of this geographical element is the focus of the next case study in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 8

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING AND SPATIAL JUSTICE

"The road is long and full of difficulties. At times the route strays off course, and it is necessary to retreat; at times a too rapid force separates us from the masses, and on occasions the pace is slow and we feel upon our necks the breath of those who follow upon our heels." Nnamdi Azikiwe (Amoah, 1989: 117).

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Social justice as described in Chapter 2 and 3 involves the ability to recognise both social disadvantage and advantage in terms of principles of justice. This chapter examines the spatial dimensions of social justice for council housing outcomes within Tower Hamlets. It uses a different perspective from the previous chapter, which examined outcomes based on the quality of dwellings allocated to different groups. Here, the analysis focuses on council housing allocated in geographical localities graded by levels of disadvantage and explores aspects of socio-spatial polarisation. This is pursued by addressing the question of whether movement by different housing groups, from their original location, to new housing, may result in greater concentrations of disadvantaged groups in certain areas.

The chapter begins by developing notions of area disadvantage for the borough housing areas. A secondary analysis of computerised housing outcomes is undertaken using a multi-dimensional concept of area deprivation. Investigations of spatial justice concern the distribution of quartile deprivation levels in areas of origin and destination, for groups of housing applicants. The chapter concludes with a discussion of spatial justice drawn from housing results in the findings.

8.2 SPATIAL JUSTICE AND HOUSING IN TOWER HAMLETS

During the 1980s and early 1990s, both the condition and proportion of council housing in the borough declined. Throughout this period lack of investment resulted in poor stock conditions and this, combined with the removal of large proportions of the best properties by 'right to buy' sales, showed increasing evidence of distributed

residualisation in the local authority. The process of 'residualisation' has resulted in council housing being increasingly described as 'the tenure of last resort'. However, evidence in Chapter 5 suggests a different conclusion, where despite residualisation council housing remains for many residents the only option. Observations suggest two significant factors contributing to this situation in the case of Tower Hamlets. First, pertaining to the tenure composition of the authority there is a small owner-occupier and private rented sector, and a large social rented sector. According to the 1991 census most of the housing in the borough was council owned and this contributes to a strong reliance on local authority housing. The high cost of buying property or renting in the private sector is the second factor. Entry to these sectors is difficult because of high proportions of low waged and unemployed households, which many residents cannot afford. Lower rents in the public rented sector (including registered social landlords) are especially relevant in Tower Hamlets because of the poor economic conditions of many households. For many Tower Hamlets residents, to remain within the vicinity, they are confined to social renting, so the demand for council housing remains high, relative to supply. The level of deprivation in neighbourhoods influences desirability of council rented properties in different parts of the borough. Therefore, to assess the notion of social justice the allocation of housing in different neighbourhoods is required.

8.2 .1 Developing Notions of Area Disadvantage

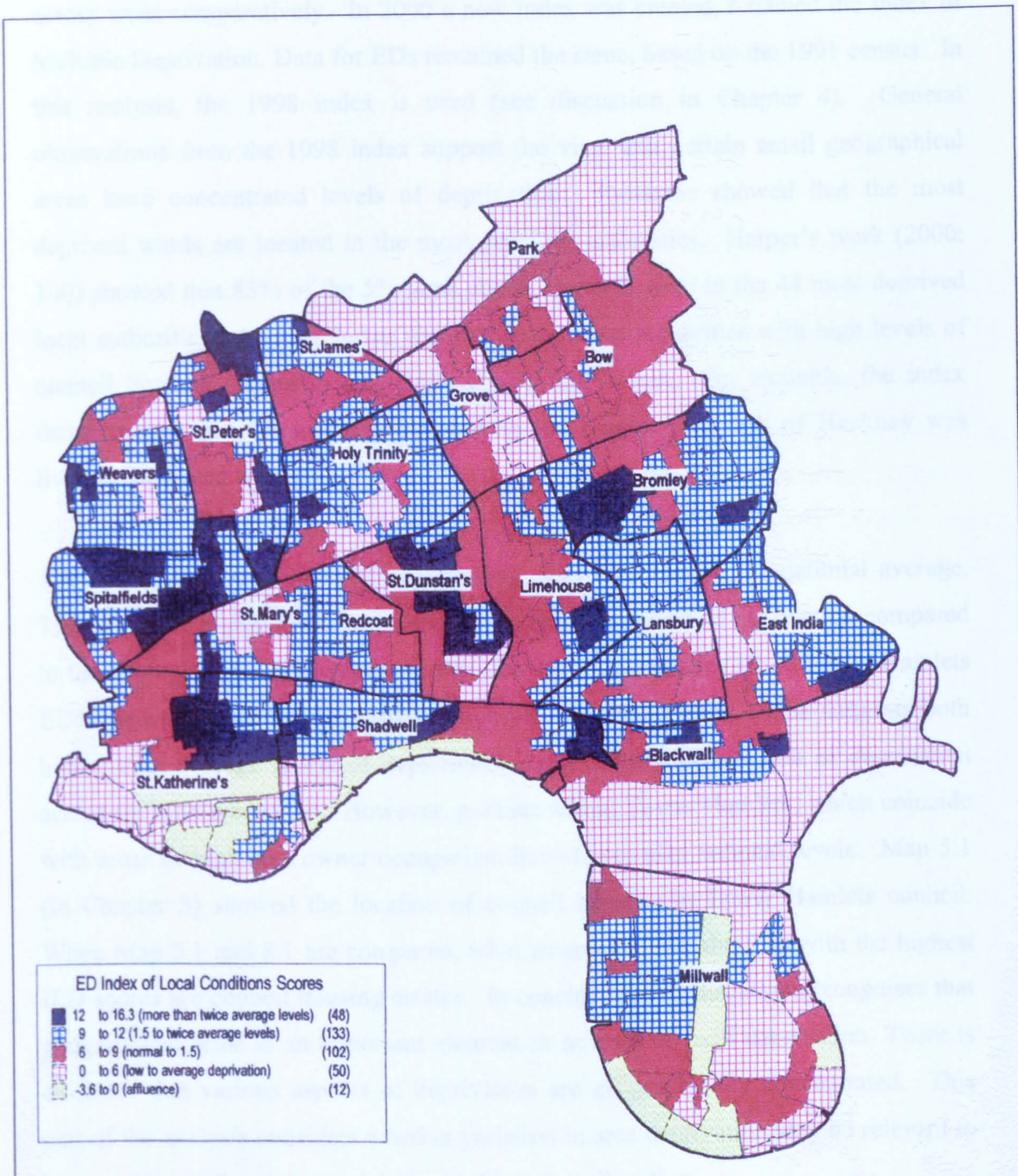
Deprivation is a multidimensional concept, and is often associated with literature on poverty (Townsend, 1979). There is no single consensus on what constitutes poverty. However, poverty is usually categorised as either relative or absolute. Absolute poverty focuses on a calculated level of essential requirements, and usually households below this minimum subsistence are considered deprived and in poverty. Alternatively, relative poverty relates household conditions to what contemporary society considers to be an acceptable standard of living, so that it includes additional consumer items, which were once regarded as luxuries, but are now taken for granted; for example, refrigerator, television or central heating. Poverty may also be defined in relation to particular aspects of living conditions, for example, those unable to afford adequate heating, are victims of fuel poverty (Mitlin, 2001). For this chapter, deprivation is viewed in relation to arguments about justice. Justice, and in particular

the 'good life,' relates to the ability to be able experience life at more than just a subsistence level (Smith, 1994) thus the wider definition of relative deprivation is appropriate. Denial of social and economic goods in the form of jobs, decent housing, good health care, educational opportunities and safe neighbourhoods, results in cumulative deprivation due to different forms of disadvantage and inequality. For example, geographical location and area deprivation plays a role in health inequality (Curtis and Rees Jones, 1998).

This chapter explores the issue by linking outcomes of housing allocation with spatial deprivation and justice. Deprivation can then be considered geographically at the micro level, in terms of specific types of housing and built environment in which deprived households live. This refers to council housing as a home and its immediate location. Deprivation may also be examined at a larger geographical scale, which describes the various spatial neighbourhoods in which the housing estates are set. This assumes that the desirability of housing will be influenced by the socio-economic 'context' in the wider neighbourhood where it is located. Thus, the neighbourhood context may be important for residents' perception of access to employment, amenities and services, social networks or fear of crime. In Tower Hamlets the local authority housing estates are combined into 32 housing areas which are also aggregated into four larger community boundaries. As Tower Hamlets is part of London, this large urban area provides useful comparisons and contrasts in assessing location and deprivation.

Successive government policy has been concerned with alleviating deprivation in the most needy areas (SEU, 1998). In line with this objective, the government DOE the DETR and later ODPM developed measures of assessing deprivation by areas. These were named the Index of Local Deprivation (ILD). The government attempted to quantify deprivation between local authorities at three levels, local council, ward and enumeration district (EDs). Such geographical scales provide government policy makers and researchers on deprivation, scope to provide a better practical understanding of variation in disadvantage between different locations and communities. These three geographical scales were used by the government to inform the targeting of urban policies to deprived localities in England.

Map 8.1 1998 ILD Scores for Tower Hamlets Enumeration Districts



Source: ODPM Index of Local Conditions, 1998

The (ILD) deprivation scores (DETR, 1998a) were based on a selection of demographic, economic, social and health indicators to measure levels of deprivation across areas comparatively. In 2000 a new index was created, renamed the Index of Multiple Deprivation. Data for EDs remained the same, based on the 1991 census. In this analysis, the 1998 index is used (see discussion in Chapter 4). General observations from the 1998 index support the view that certain small geographical areas have concentrated levels of deprivation. Evidence showed that the most deprived wards are located in the most deprived authorities. Harper's work (2000: 100) showed that 85% of the 5% most deprived wards were in the 44 most deprived local authorities. Another factor was that many local authorities with high levels of council housing tended to have high deprivation scores. For example, the index demonstrated that the whole population of the London Borough of Hackney was living in deprived wards.

The 1998 ILD scores have been calculated with reference to the national average. Therefore, the higher the average score the greater the level of deprivation compared to the average. Map 8.1 shows the cumulative ILD scores for all of Tower Hamlets EDs. Tower Hamlets has relatively high scores in most EDs, which suggests both higher than average levels of deprivation and extensive distribution of deprivation across the whole borough. However, pockets within Tower Hamlets, which coincide with areas of high cost owner occupation, have lower than national levels. Map 5.1 (in Chapter 5) showed the location of council housing in Tower Hamlets council. When Map 5.1 and 8.1 are compared, what emerges is that the EDs with the highest ILD scores are council housing estates. In conclusion, this discussion recognises that geographical scale is an important element in notions of local deprivation. There is evidence that various aspects of deprivation are geographically concentrated. This part of the analysis considers whether variation in area deprivation may be relevant to an assessment of social justice in council housing allocation.

8.3 APPLYING DEPRIVATION TO MEASURE HOUSING AREAS

The 1991 Census showed that Tower Hamlets had the highest levels of council housing in England. This pattern of tenure exists in a local authority that is

considered deprived on several government indicators. For this research, a method of measuring the level of deprivation in the different housing areas was required so that comparisons between various areas could be made. One way of assessing spatial justice was the use of geographical data but this needs to be developed into an indicator that measures the neighbourhood socio-economic context and operationalises the extent of inequality among areas.

For this analysis, the enumeration district indicators were used to describe deprivation in the 32 individual council estate areas. The DETR index of local deprivation (ILD) provides a composite indicator of housing quality, economic conditions and family poverty (see discussion in methods) in the housing areas. In order to produce an estimate of the deprivation for each local housing area, the average of the deprivation scores was calculated for all EDs in the Housing Areas and was weighted using population size of the ED. In addition, further specific indicators of tenure and ethnicity of the population in local housing areas were required because they would be relevant to council housing policy and practice. (For a fuller discussion of the methodology, see Chapter 4.) In Chapters 3 and 5 ethnicity had emerged as being an important aspect of disadvantage in the social housing system. Knowledge of the ethnic composition of an area could affect the desirability of an area from the tenant's point of view. Tenure composition and housing amenities were also raised as issues that affect tenants' choice from the tenant interviews undertaken in the borough. The 1991 Census results showed that lack of amenities and overcrowding were characteristics of both private and public sector housing in the borough and this was variable among areas. These housing features could be used as indicators of housing disadvantage that could contribute to assessing the housing context.

Map 8.2 shows the average ILD deprivation score for local estate areas. The map illustrates that deprivation is concentrated in certain estate areas. Estates in the west of the borough were most deprived, and those in the north, east and south of the borough are less deprived. It also showed 'pockets' of deprivation where deprived estates (represented by the ED boundaries) were situated in a less deprived area. Two such pockets are noticeable in the north east of the borough and the south of the borough.

Map 8.2 Levels of Deprivation in Tower Hamlets 32 Council Housing Localities
Source: 1991 Census and 1998 ILD ED data

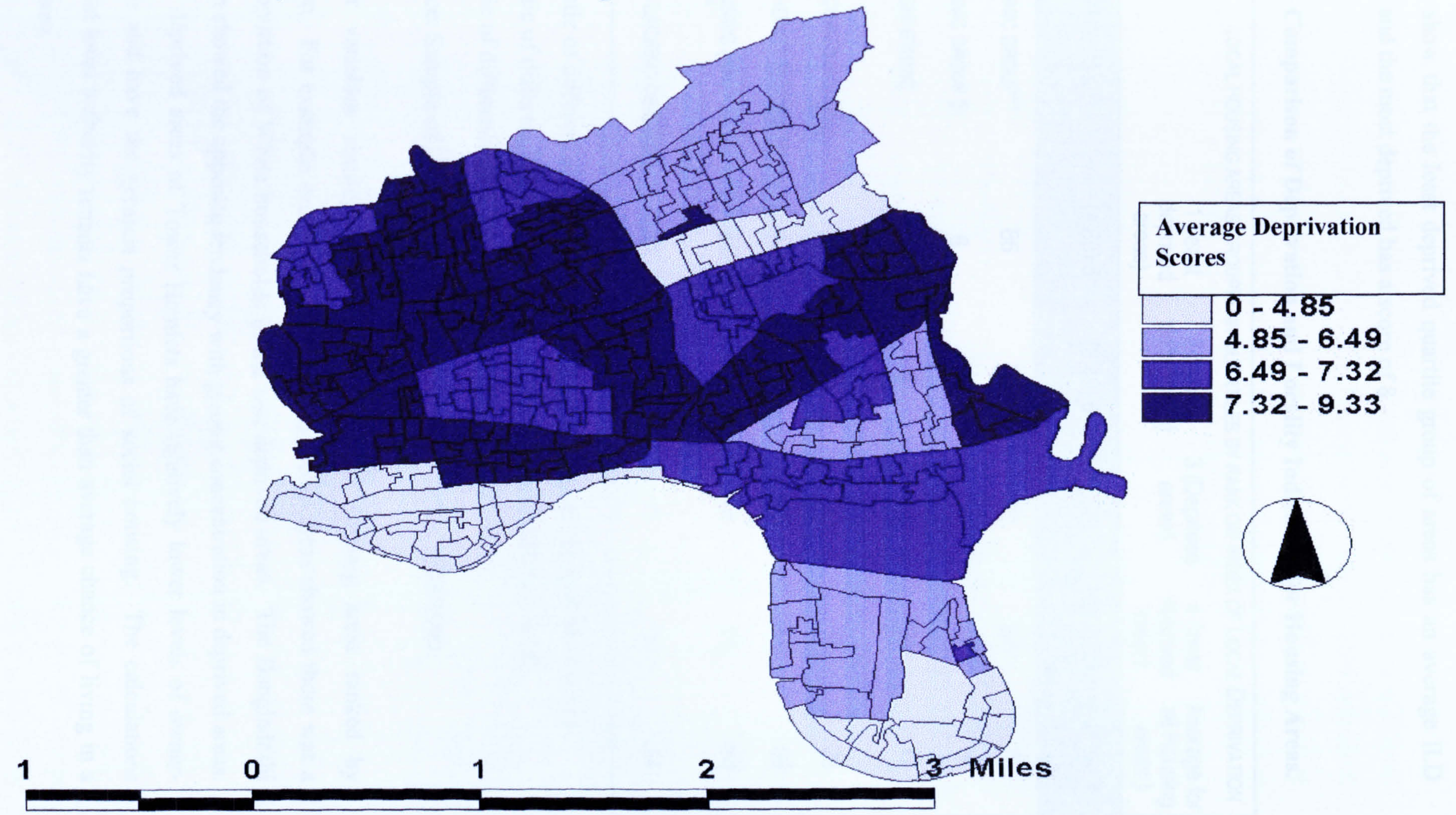


Table 8.1 show that the least deprived quartile group of areas has an average ILD score of 5 and the most deprived has a score of 8.

Table 8.1 Comparison of Deprivation and Locality Indicators for Housing Areas.

	LOCAL HOUSING AREAS GROUPED IN QUARTILES BY RANK ON INDEX OF LOCAL DEPRIVATION				
	1 (least deprived areas)	2 (Some deprivation)	3 (Deprived areas)	4 (most deprived areas)	Average for all Housing areas)
AVERAGE VALUE OF ILD INDEX**	(4.85) **5**	(6.49) **6**	(7.32) **7**	(8.33) **8**	(6.80) **7**
WHITE ETHNIC GROUP**	86	84	80	67	79
BLACK ETHNIC GROUP $	6	7	7	7	7
BANGLADESHI ETHNIC GROUP**	5	6	10	23	17
OWNER OCCUPIED HOUSING **	34	24	18	17	23
LOCAL AUTHORITY RENTED **	47	61	65	63	59
SOCIAL HOUSING (ALL SECTORS)**	54	69	74	75	68
IN HOUSING LACKING CENTRAL HEATING*	10	19	17	11	14

** F statistic of difference between groups highly significant (probability < 0.01)

* F statistic of difference between groups is significant (probability < 0.05)

$ F statistic of difference between groups is not significant

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

The other variables considered here varied between housing areas ranked by deprivation. For example, comparisons with the deprived areas showed there was a higher proportion of White households in the less deprived areas. The Bangladeshi population showed the opposite tendency with greater concentration in deprived areas. The most deprived areas of Tower Hamlets have relatively lower levels of owner-occupation and have the greatest proportions of social housing. The calculations suggest that local authority tenants have a greater than average chance of living in a deprived area.

Table 8.1 also shows that the percentage of households without central heating was not consistently related to the ILD index. This result reflects the large amount of local authority dwellings that were built to a standard that included heating. Lack of central heating is more often found in the private sector where it is usually difficult to ensure adequate housing amenities (DETR, 1998b). However, as Tower Hamlets had a very small privately rented sector, this factor is not statistically significant.

This section has demonstrated that notions of area disadvantage can be geographically interpreted. The ILD and other ED data have been shown to be useful in assessing disadvantage in the borough. The ILD shows a strong association with most of the specific area housing variables shown in Table 8.1, so it was used for this analysis as a valid indicator of area housing conditions as well as a more general measure of neighbourhood socio-economic deprivation.

8.4 SPATIAL JUSTICE AND HOUSING LOCATION IN TOWER HAMLETS

In Chapter 7 analysis focused on the relationship between the quality of properties where applicants were housed. Here, housing outcomes in terms of allocation of applicants to different types of areas can be interpreted, in terms of two different principles of social justice proposed by Rawls (1972), previously outlined in chapter 7. The Rawls Pareto principle (1972) would require that the least advantaged were not further disadvantaged in relation to spatial distributions. This would mean that applicants who are most disadvantaged (for example, in terms of ethnic group, housing need or the route to housing) should not be further disadvantaged by moving to an area of high deprivation.

The Rawls Contractual criterion would require that the most disadvantaged groups of applicants would be compensated for their initial disadvantage by moving to the least deprived areas. On this criterion, ideally, a socially just distribution would be one that would discriminate positively. This would result in a large proportion of least advantaged groups moving into housing which are better than average, in localities where the social and the built environment are relatively good. This would help to redress housing inequalities and contribute to achieving the contractual principle of

justice. In fact, the scope for achieving contractual justice in these terms is limited. Map 8.1 shows that most areas of Tower Hamlets have higher levels of deprivation than the national average. However, the severity of the deprivation varies. The council can only offer housing within the borough, so the best that the local authority can offer their tenants in terms of the quality of the area, is to move them to the least disadvantaged parts of the borough.

Within the limits of the sample data, the analysis addressed these issues in the following way. First, the localities where council housing is located are classified in terms of levels of deprivation. This involves some analysis of how quality of the specific housing allocated to tenants to related more general area deprivation. Second, for the groups of applicants considered in Chapter 7, classified by race, housing need and housing route, comparisons are made of the levels of deprivation in areas they moved from and in the areas they move to. The question considered is whether there were differences among applicant groups moving into areas which were relatively poor, compared with those moving into less deprived parts of the borough. Third, this analysis seeks to establish whether the most disadvantaged populations were moving towards the poorer areas, thereby increasing social and spatial polarisation in the borough.

The analysis of the allocation data began with an examination of the quality of housing properties received by tenants moving to a destination classed by rank of deprivation. Photographs give some visualisation of housing in some of these areas. Plate 8.1, represents the best type of council area, depicting a more 'affluent' population and housing with adequate parking, grass and play areas. Plate 8.2 shows housing in one of the typically most disadvantaged areas, with high unemployment rates, large numbers of families on welfare benefits and poor quality housing. The housing has no internal lifts or security, has a poorly maintained façade, and little play or community amenities for residents.

Plate 8.1 'Least Deprived Area', Estate 14, Poplar Locality

Plate 8.2 Housing In 'Most Deprived Area' Estate 5, Bethnal Green Locality

Source: Photgraphs taken by writer in June 2001

Table 8.2 shows the relationship between the quality of property allocated to applicants, classified as poor, average, good or best (see Chapter 7), against the deprivation rank of destination areas.

Table 8.2 Quality of Properties by Deprivation Quartile Rank of Destination Areas

HOUSING QUALITY		AREA MOVED TO: DEPRIVATION RANK 1 LEAST	2	3	4 MOST	TOTAL
POOR	COUNT	122	198	204	208	732
	% within QUALITY	17	27	28	28	100.00
	% within area moved to: deprivation	24	26	22	18	22
AVERAGE	Count	98	167	199	233	697
	% within QUALITY	14	24	28	33	100.00
	% within area moved to: deprivation	20	22	21	20	21
GOOD	Count	153	267	358	495	1273
	% within QUALITY	12	21	28	39	100.00
	% within area moved to: deprivation	31	35	38	44	38
BEST	Count	126	128	181	201	636
	% within QUALITY	20	20	28	32	100.00
	% within area moved to: deprivation	25	17	19	18	19
TOTAL	Count	499	760	942	1137	3338
	% within QUALITY	15	23	28	34	100.00
	% within area moved to: deprivation	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

The data in the Table above illustrate that not all the poor properties were in the 'most deprived' areas and about a third (32%) of the best properties allocated were located in the most deprived areas (ranked 4). Within the most deprived areas the total relative share of good and best property was larger (62%) than that in the least deprived area (56%). This suggests that within particular housing localities, deprivation may not be evident in the entire housing stock. Some of the properties may be of good quality due to regeneration and maintenance schemes being concentrated in the most deprived areas (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1998: 15). Thus, area deprivation and quality of individual homes are not very strongly related. This confirms that deprived localities can have a mix of housing, and that locality characteristics cannot definitively indicate the built quality of housing at the micro level of individual homes.

8.5 AREA DEPRIVATION FOR GROUPS OF HOUSING APPLICANTS

The next stage of the analysis examined area disadvantage for groups of applicants. Of particular interest here is whether the average area deprivation is different between groups of applicants and whether area deprivation is worst for the most disadvantaged groups. In Chapter 7 groups of applicants were classified by race, housing need and route, and were ranked according to their relative disadvantage in the housing system. Here, comparisons are made of the levels of deprivation in the areas they moved from, and in the areas that they moved to. Secondly, the analysis examines whether the groups with greatest disadvantage in the housing system were more likely to be rehoused in the poorest areas.

The geographical data is interpreted in terms of two views of justice linked to housing allocation. Rawls' Pareto (1972) model of justice would be achieved, if *the least advantaged group were not further disadvantaged.* In practice this requires that groups most disadvantaged and with the greatest housing need in the housing system, would not be further disadvantaged by moving to the most deprived areas. Rawls contractual view of social justice involves *the most disadvantaged groups receiving the greatest benefit.* To achieve this principle the most disadvantaged housing groups would be moved to the least deprived areas. However, there are some difficulties in strictly adhering to the criteria of least deprived areas to assess justice. Table 8.2 has shown that half of the 'best' individual properties were in deprived areas, supporting the position that housing quality did not always relate to levels of deprivation in a neighbourhood. Advantages of a good quality property might effect the drawbacks of a deprived neighbourhood for some tenants.

On the other hand, Map 8.1 and the ILD scores show that most localities within Tower Hamlets are deprived, while regeneration is taking place in these deprived areas it can be understood that the majority of council housing acceptances are likely to be located in deprived areas. However, Arthurson (2001: 124) has shown that improvements in construction and amenities to public housing do not mask or alleviate the levels of deprivation. Areas of deprivation may contain large amounts of regenerated properties, aesthetically improving the landscape and environment

resulting in areas becoming more desirable. However, the geographical area is still considered deprived on other factors, and therefore the allocation system does not generally satisfy notions of social justice based on allocation to a less deprived area according to Rawls' contractual criterion (Rawls, 1972: 60).

The analysis continues with examination of applicants classed by housing route. Analysis in Chapter 7 showed that groups applying for housing could be identified by advantages that related to their negotiating power and housing circumstances. This indicated that homeless applicants were most disadvantaged, transfers were least disadvantaged, with waiting list applicants in an intermediate position.

Table 8.3 Average Deprivation of Area of Origin for applicants in Transfer and Waiting List Route

HOUSING ROUTE		AVERAGE DEPRIVATION SCORE IN AREAS OF ORIGIN	AVERAGE DEPRIVATION SCORE IN DESTINATION AREAS
TRANSFER	Mean	6.76	7.14
	Std. Deviation	1.27	1.16
WAITING LIST	Mean	7.10	7.08
	Std. Deviation	1.18	1.31
Combined Routes	Mean	6.95	7.11
	N	1657	1665
	Std. Deviation	1.23	1.24

F static 31.74 Sig. 2.070008

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

The new lettings for transfer and waiting list applicants were located in slightly more deprived destination areas than their originating areas. This might reflect evidence of residualisation. However, the F statistic shows that there was no statistically significant difference in average area deprivation between these two groups. The poorer quality neighbourhoods that transfer applicants are moving to must be considered in the context of regeneration schemes and social housing improvements based on the targeting of resources to poorer areas. Although some applicants moved to poorer areas, they may have moved to the better properties in those areas as shown by the analysis in Chapter 7.

Table 8.4 shows the average deprivation score of destination area, for housing applicants classed by route. Those housed through the homeless housing route were most often housed in the most deprived areas (average ILD rates 7.23). The deprivation average for the destination areas of applicants rehoused via the transfer route was 7.14, as compared with 7.08 for the waiting list applicants. These differences were significant in statistical terms (probability = 0.007). This suggests that while for each group of applicants, the average deprivation score for destination areas was greater than the average in Tower Hamlets as a whole (6.8). (See Table 8.2 earlier in this chapter) Generally this shows that, while all groups of applicants were usually housed in more deprived areas of the borough, homeless applicants were particularly likely to be housed in the poorest areas.

Table 8.4 Mean Deprivation Score for the Destinations of All Housing Routes

HOUSING ROUTE	MEAN	N	STD. DEVIATION
HOMELESS	7.23	1716.00	1.1179052
TRANSFER	7.14	754.00	1.1603267
WAITING LIST	7.08	911.00	1.3057887
TOTAL	7.17	3381.00	1.1820403

F static 4.99 Sig. 0.006893

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Comparing average area deprivation for transfer cases in Tables 8.3 and Table 8.4, it appears that the average level of deprivation for the destination areas were worse than in their areas of origin (7.14 compared with 6.76). This suggests some worsening of the situation for this group on this indicator. For waiting list applicants the average area score for areas of origin was 7.10 and for destination areas 7.08. Thus on average their position in terms of area deprivation was similar. The destination of homeless applicants was the most deprived, as this was still within areas ranked 7, the average for all groups sampled, this was not significant.

This is further borne out in Table 8.5. This crosstabulates the housing route groups by ranked quartile groups of residential area. For each housing route group, more than half of applicants were housed in areas in rank groups 3 or 4, where deprivation is

higher. This was particularly true for homeless and for transfer applicants, of whom 65% were housed in areas ranked 3 or 4. Of the waiting list group 55% moved to areas ranked 3 or 4.

Table 8.5 Deprivation Quartile of Destination Area for Applicants by Housing Route

HOUSING ROUTE		AREA MOVED TO: DEPRIVATION QUARTILE					TOTAL
		1	2	3	4	(3 & 4)	ALL
HOMELESS	Count	218	379	501	618		1716
	% within housing route	13	22	29	36	(65)	100.00
	% within area moved to: deprivation	44	49	53	53		51
TRANSFER	Count	111	151	227	265		754
	% within housing route	15	20	30	35	(65)	100.00
	% within area moved to: deprivation	22	20	24	23		22
WAITING LIST	Count	172	244	217	278		911
	% within housing route	19	27	24	31	(55)	100.00
	% within area moved to: deprivation	34	32	23	24		27
Total	Count	501	774	945	1161		3381
	% within housing route	15	23	28	34	(62)	100.00
	% within area moved to: deprivation	100	100	100	100		100

Peason Chi-Square 37.733

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Table 8.6 shows the area rank for places of origin of the waiting list and transfer applicants. 22% of transfer applicants were housed from areas ranked as best. However, Table 8.5 shows they received a smaller distribution of the best housing with 15%. Among the waiting list applicants, 14% left the 'best' areas, while a larger proportion (19%) moved into the best areas. Overall, therefore the waiting list applicants seemed to show some average improvement in their residential setting because of the housing allocation process. This was not the case for transfer applicants.

Table 8.6 Deprivation Quartile for Area of Origin, by Applicant's Housing Route (Data Not Available for Homeless Applicants).

HOUSING ROUTE		AREA MOVED FROM: DEPRIVATION RANK				TOTAL
		1	2	3	4	
TRANSFER	Count	169	207	217	162	755
	% within housing route	22	27	29	22	100.00
	% within area moved from: deprivation	58	45	45	38	46
WAITING LIST	Count	122	254	266	260	902
	% within housing route	14	28	29	29	100.00
	% within area moved from: deprivation	42	55	55	62	54
TOTAL	Count	291	461	483	422	1658
	% within housing route	18	28	29	25	100.00
	% within area moved from: deprivation	100	100	100	100	100

Pearson chi-square 29.729

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Table 8.7 shows the average originating area of deprivation score for various housing need groups (except for the homeless group, where data was not available). The differences in average deprivation are statistically significant, with lower averages for applicants classified as cases of urgent health need, decant moves and management cases (most of whom had specific and urgent reasons for moving often involving other statutory agencies).

Deprivation scores were higher on average for areas of origin of groups classed as overcrowded and those having general needs, so these groups were moving from more deprived areas, on average.

Table 8.7 Average Deprivation Score for Origin and Destination Areas by Housing Need (Excluding Homeless Applicants)

HOUSING NEED GROUP		AVERAGE DEPRIVATION SCORE IN AREAS OF ORIGIN	AVERAGE DEPRIVATION SCORE IN DESTINATION AREAS
URGENT HEALTH	Mean	6.74	6.92
	N	149	152
	Std. Deviation	1.34	1.39
MANAGEMENT	Mean	6.85	6.97
	N	382	381
	Std. Deviation	1.25	1.30
DECANT	Mean	6.70	7.23
	N	250	250
	Std. Deviation	1.27	1.00
OVERCROWDED	Mean	7.13	7.18
	N	612	620
	Std. Deviation	1.18	1.28
GENERAL	Mean	7.00	7.15
	N	264	262
	Std. Deviation	1.18	1.15
TOTAL	Mean	6.95	7.11
	N	1657	1665
	Std. Deviation	1.23	1.24

	F static	Significance
Area origin between Groups	7.917	0
Destination area between Groups	3.252	0.011

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Table 8.8 shows similar data for the destination areas of housing need groups. The deprivation scores were on average better for the groups classed as having urgent health or management needs, so they were moving to less deprived areas. The scores were worse for destination areas of decant cases and homeless. Thus, homeless applicants seemed more likely to be moved to relatively deprived areas of the borough, and the same is true for decant tenants.

Table 8.8 Average Deprivation Score of Area Moved to for Applicants by Housing Need Group (Including Homeless Applicants).

HOUSING NEED GROUP	MEAN	N	STD. DEVIATION
URGENT HEALTH	6.95	172	1.3725284
MANAGEMENT	6.97	381	1.3022645
GENERAL NEED	7.15	262	1.146702
OVERCROWDED	7.17	623	1.2858844
HOMELESS	7.23	1693	1.1147866
DECANT	7.23	250	1.0013999
TOTAL	7.17	3381	1.1820403

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Table 8.9 Proportion of Housing Need Groups by Deprivation Quartile of Destination area

HOUSING NEED GROUP	% WITHIN NEED GROUP AND AREAS	AREA MOVED TO: DEPRIVATION RANK				TOTAL
		1	2	3	4	
Homeless	% within housing need group	13	22	29	36	100
	% within area moved to	43	48	53	53	50
Urgent Health	% within housing need group	20	22	27	31	100.00
	% within area moved to	7	5	5	5	5
Management	% within housing need group	24	28	20	28	100.00
	% within area moved to	18	14	8	9	11
Decant	% within housing need group	13	13	33	41	100
	% within area moved to	6.39	4.26	8.68	8.87	7.39
Overcrowded	% within housing need group	16	22	27	35	100.00
	% within area moved to	20	18	18	19	18
General	% within housing need group	11	34	29	26	100.00
	% within area moved to	6	11	8	6	8
Total	% within housing need group	15	23	28	34	100.00
	% within area moved to	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Pearson chi-square Tests 90.12749125

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Table 8.9 shows the deprivation rank of destination area for allocations classed by housing needs and confirms the impression from Table 8.8. The analysis, shows that 36% of homeless tenants and 41% of decant tenants were rehoused in the most deprived areas ranked 4. These figures compare with 34% of all rehoused applicants moving to areas ranked 4. The urgent health and management group applicants were more likely to receive housing in the least deprived areas.

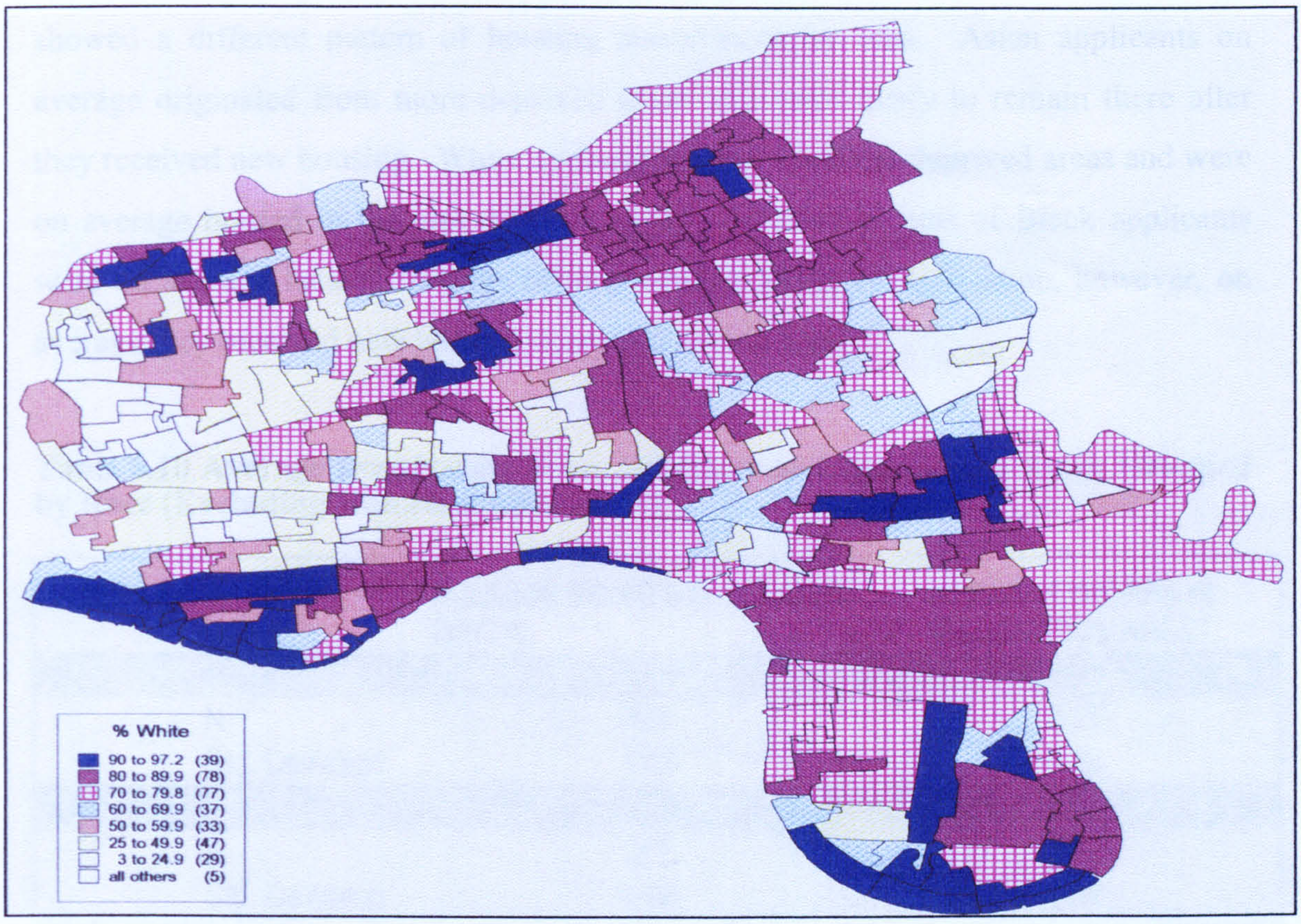
The analysis overall suggests that justice for housing groups was achieved following the model of Rawls Pareto. However, whether the contractual justice criterion was achieved (improving the position of the most deprived applicants by moving them towards the least deprived areas) is less clear. Disadvantaged groups that moved to the most deprived areas, may not have been further disadvantaged by the housing in these locations, as they contained the largest proportion of 'best' quality housing in terms of building standards.

8.6 RACE AND HOUSING DEPRIVATION

An issue of concern for this thesis was injustice experienced by ethnic minorities who applied for council housing (discussed in Chapter 5). Particular emphasis in the public debates initiated by the CRE and reviewed in Chapter 5 was placed on the geographical link to wider deprivation in areas where housing was situated. Of specific concern in this section are the levels of deprivation and the degree of ethnic concentration that is experienced by residents living on council estates.

The patterns of residence of the two largest racial groups in the borough are illustrated in Maps 8.3 and 8.4. The highest concentration of Bangladeshi households (Map 8.3) was between 60% and 90% in 28 EDs, covering 8 housing areas, mainly in two neighbourhoods in the west of the borough (Map 8.4). Whereas, White households (Map 8.4) were more dispersed in all four neighbourhoods and with a higher density of 97% in 39 EDs. This provides an estimation of locality concentration of the two largest racial groups applying for housing in the borough. It also provides a baseline for the discussion on ethnic concentration and location of council housing.

Map 8.3 Percentage Of White Households In Tower Hamlets EDs. Source: 1991 Census.



Map 8.4 Percentage of Bangladeshi Households in Tower Hamlets EDs. Source: 1991 Census.

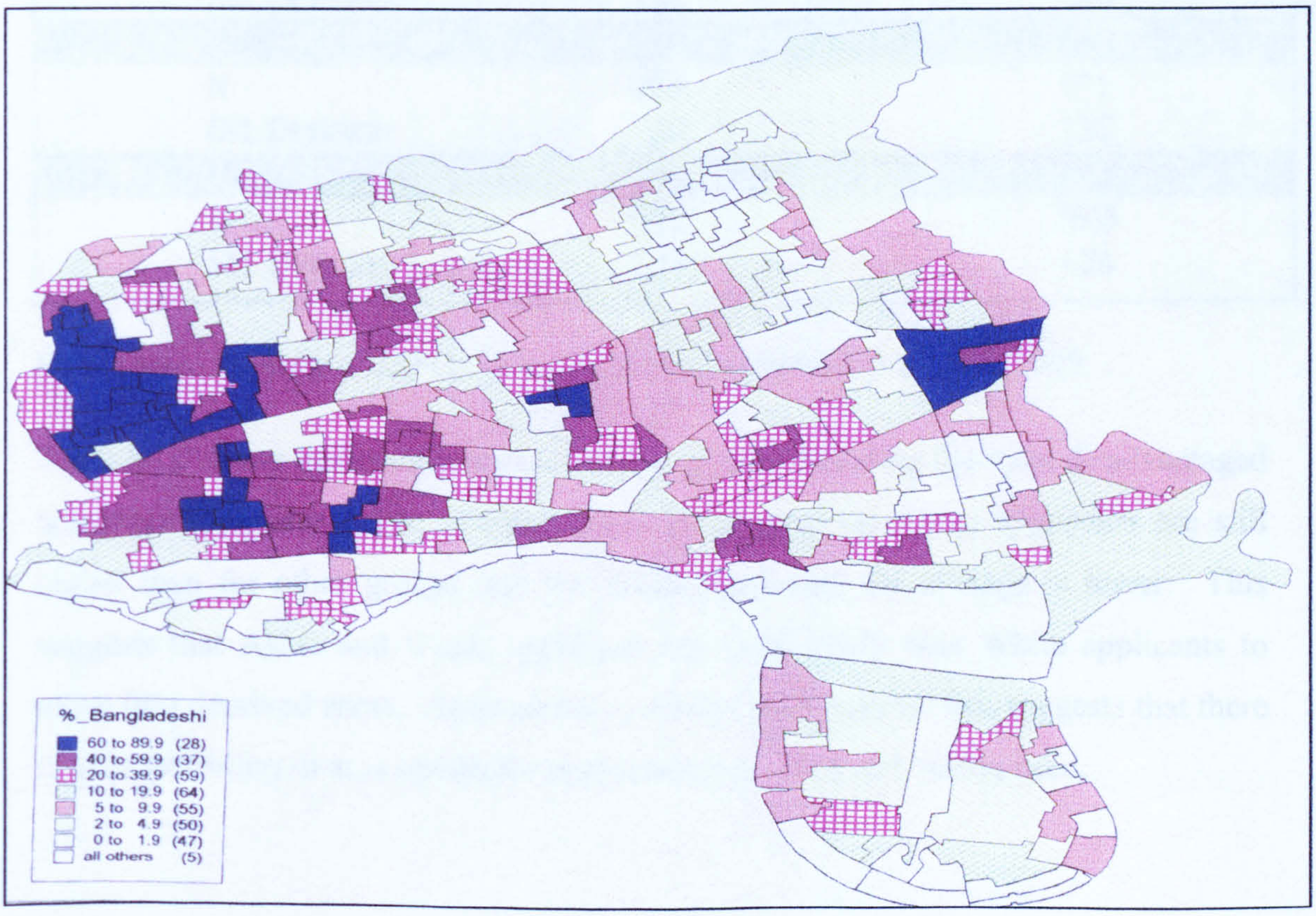


Table 8.10 shows the average deprivation scores for areas of origin and destination for applicants classed by race (excluding Homeless applicants). Each ethnic group showed a different pattern of housing acceptances by area. Asian applicants on average originated from more deprived areas and were likely to remain there after they received new housing. White applicants came from less deprived areas and were on average housed in the less deprived areas. Housing origins of Black applicants were on average located in areas of intermediate levels of deprivation, however, on average they received new lettings in more deprived areas.

Table 8.10 Average Deprivation Score of Origin and Destination Areas Grouped by Race (Excluding Homeless Applicants).

RACES		AVERAGE SCORES IN AREAS OF ORIGIN	AVERAGE SCORES IN DESTINATION AREAS
ASIAN	Mean	7.51	7.63
	N	401	403
	Std. Deviation	1.15	1.20
BLACK	Mean	6.95	7.06
	N	217	216
	Std. Deviation	1.16	1.08
NONE	Mean	7.14	7.04
	N	136	135
	Std. Deviation	1.06	1.29
WHITE	Mean	6.66	6.90
	N	903	911
	Std. Deviation	1.22	1.22
TOTAL	Mean	6.95	7.11
	N	1657	1665
	Std. Deviation	1.23	1.24

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Table 8.11 shows destination areas of ethnic groups including the most disadvantaged homeless applicants. The average deprivation areas for Asian applicants are still higher than for other groups and for White applicants the average is lower. This suggests that Asian and Black applicants are more likely than White applicants to move into deprived areas. As these data includes the homeless this suggests that there is little flexibility in area option for applicants regardless of housing need.

Table 8.11 Racial Groups Mean Deprivation Score for Destination Areas (Including Homeless Applicants)

RACES	MEAN	COUNT	STD. DEVIATION
ASIAN	7.45	918	1.17
BLACK	7.17	317	1.06
NONE	7.23	951	1.14
WHITE	6.91	1195	1.20
TOTAL	7.17	3381	1.18

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Table 8.12 Quartile Deprivation Destination for Applications classed by Racial Groups

RACES		AREA MOVED FROM DEPRIVATION RANK				
		1	2	3	4	Total
ASIAN	Count	98	176	247	397	918
	% within RACES	11	19	27	43	100.0
	% within area moved to: deprivation	20	23	26	34	27
BLACK	Count	48	85	76	108	317
	% within RACES	15	27	24	34	100.0
	% within area moved to: deprivation	10	11	8	9	9
NONE	Count	123	200	276	352	951
	% within RACES	13	21	29	37	100.0
	% within area moved to: deprivation	25	26	29	30	28
WHITE	Count	232	313	346	304	1195
	% within RACES	19	26	29	25	100.0
	% within area moved to: deprivation	46	40	37	26	35
TOTAL	Count	501	774	945	1161	3381
	% within RACES	15	23	28	34	100.0
	% within area moved to: deprivation	100	100	100	100	100

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Table 8.12 shows that 43% of Asian applicants moved to areas ranked 4 (most deprived) compared with only 25% of whites. From the Asian applicants only 11% moved to the least deprived areas (ranked 1), compared with 19% of white applicants. However, the position of Asians relative to those of Whites has not worsened as a result of the allocation process. Particularly, considering that the origins of Asian tenants were more highly concentrated in poor areas.

A similar pattern of geographical concentration is demonstrated by Table 8.13 showing that a relatively large proportion of Asian tenants (43%) originated from location in the most deprived areas (ranked 4), compared with 18% of White tenants. The proportion of new Black lettings in the least deprived remained the same (15%) but increased for the most deprived area ranked 4 from 24% to 34%.

Table 8.13 Deprivation Rank of Areas of Origin for Applicants Grouped by Race

RACES		AREA MOVED FROM: DEPRIVATION BANK				
		1	2	3	4	Total
ASIAN	Count	32	73	123	173	401
	% within RACES	8	18	31	43	100.00
	% within area moved from: deprivation	11	16	25	41	24
BLACK	Count	33	72	61	51	217
	% within RACES	15	33	28	24	100.00
	% within area moved from: deprivation	11	16	13	12	13
NONE	Count	12	41	49	34	136
	% within RACES	9	30	36	25	100.00
	% within area moved from: deprivation	4	9	10	8	8
WHITE	Count	214	275	251	164	904
	% within RACES	24	30	28	18	100.00
	% within area moved from: deprivation	74	60	52	39	55
TOTAL	Count	291	461	484	422	1658
	% within RACES	18	28	29	25	100.00
	% within area moved from: deprivation	100	100	100	100	100

Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

These analyses generally seem to suggest that Black and White tenants in particular, tend to be moving towards the most deprived parts of the borough as a result of the allocation process. The concentration of Asian tenants in the poorest areas tended to be maintained.

8.7 RACIAL CONCENTRATION IN HOUSING AREAS

Data on applicants were also used to explore whether because of the allocation process applicants were becoming more or less concentrated in ethnically segregated areas. The term 'polarisation' is used to describe the extent of concentration in some

areas. Since the 1980s ethnic concentration on particular estates has been of some concern in Tower Hamlets (illustrated in this research by the discussion of council housing in Spitalfields and the Isle of Dogs localities in Chapter 6).

Table 8.14 shows data on origin areas for housing applicants (including the homeless). The figures show information on the ethnic profiles of destination areas (as percentages of total households that were White, Black or Bangladeshi and have been averaged for each applicant group).

Table 8.14 Ethnic Concentration of Destination Areas for Applicants Classed by Race

RACES		% OF POPULATION WHITE	% OF POPULATION BLACK	% OF POPULATION BANGLADESHI
ASIAN	Mean	74	7	16
	N	918	918	918
	Std. Deviation	12.56	2.64	13.04
BLACK	Mean	77	8	12
	N	317	317	317
	Std. Deviation	9.56	2.62	9.93
NONE	Mean	77	8	12
	N	951	951	951
	Std. Deviation	9.50	2.71	9.53
WHITE	Mean	79	8	10
	N	1195	1195	1195
	Std. Deviation	9.45	2.56	9.51
TOTAL	Mean	77	8	13
	N	3381	3381	3381
	Std. Deviation	10.60	2.65	10.86

Source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

Results shows that, for Asian applicants' destination areas, on average, have populations that are 74% White and 16% Bangladeshi. For White applicants, the destination areas have on average 79% White households and 10% Bangladeshi. Thus, applicants were allocated to areas with relatively high proportions of households from the same ethnic group as themselves. Maps 8.2 and 8.3 based on 1991 ED data illustrate the proportion of households headed by a White or Asian

person. They show that the most densely clustered pattern of concentration was in residential areas occupied by Asian households. The data here suggests that this pattern will continue.

Table 8.15, which excludes homeless applicants, shows average ethnic profile for areas of origin areas. For the Asian applicants, destination areas had an average percentage of 71% White households and 19% Bangladeshi households. In their areas of origin, on average 73% of households had been White and 18% Bangladeshi.

Table 8.15 Ethnic Concentration of *Origin Areas for Applicants Classed by Race (Excludes Homeless)

RACES		% OF POPULATION WHITE	% OF POPULATION BLACK	% OF POPULATION BANGLADESHI
Asian	MEAN	71	7	19
	N	403	403	403
	STD. DEVIATION	14.30	2.72	14.81
Black	MEAN	78	9	11
	N	216	216	216
	STD. DEVIATION	8.82	2.59	9.04
None	MEAN	77	7	13
	N	135	135	135
	STD. DEVIATION	11.41	2.81	11.84
White	MEAN	79	8	11
	N	911	911	911
	STD. DEVIATION	9.70	2.49	9.86
Total	MEAN	77	7	13
	N	1665	1665	1665
	STD. DEVIATION	11.45	2.62	11.87

*Excluding homeless applicants
Data source: Sample of LBTH Housing Records 1994/1995 to 1998/1999.

This suggests that the housing allocation process had done little to dilute ethnic concentration in areas with large proportions of Bangladeshi applicants. As depicted in Table 8.15 White applicants moved to areas where, on average, 79% of households were White and 11% were Bangladeshi. The corresponding proportions for their areas of origin were 81% and 10%. There may have been a slight tendency to redistribute these White applicants, through the housing allocation process, to areas of lower concentrations of White residents. Since 19% of Asian applicants originated from areas with high Bangladeshi concentrations but 16% moved to such areas, there may be a limited degree of dispersal operating through housing allocations.

The overall impression is that in terms of ethnic concentration, the allocation process is doing little to reduce spatial ethnic segregation in Tower Hamlets. Thus, polarisation identified on estates in the borough by Phillips (1986) and the CRE (1988) remain even after changes imposed by the NDN. Practices over many decades have produced pockets of ethnic concentrations and residential settlement on particular areas such as preference for particular areas identified in Chapter 6. There is no one answer as to why particular groups may be concentrated in an area. Researchers have focused on different factors: historical settlement and choice (Johnson, 1987), social and economic disadvantage, (Modood and Berthoud, 1997) and discrimination within the allocation system (Phillips, 1998). However, the polarisation of ethnic communities on council estates has also been historically linked with the consequence of council housing allocation policy and the actions of housing staff. (Dunmore, 1975; Brown, 1982; Smith, 1989; Rich, 1987).

Following this background, the evidence here must be considered with analysis in the previous chapter on the allocation of properties. This points to ethnic concentration and polarisation persisting. Localities where there are large concentrations of ethnic minorities, usually situated on poorer estates also have high demands for housing. Applicants applying for housing from these areas are more likely to be housed in neighbourhoods that are deprived. Often these areas have also been targeted for extra funding to regenerate housing, health, safety and employment opportunities. This combined with social ties may make some of these deprived areas a preferred option perpetuating the level of ethnic polarisation in the borough. In practical terms, applicants are making a choice amongst estate areas that all have relatively high levels of deprivation within a borough that suffers various types of deprivation. In these circumstance quality of the particular accommodation offered is often the decisive factor because there is little flexibility regarding geographical location.

8.8 HOUSING OUTCOMES AND SPATIAL JUSTICE

A third of the properties allocated to local authority tenants were located in local housing areas with relatively severe deprivation, indicated by deprivation scores above the 75th percentile for all areas in the borough. In contrast, 15% of new lettings

were in the least deprived areas with deprivation scores below the 25th percentile. This seems to suggest that the system operates unfairly to concentrate already disadvantaged households in the poorest areas. This must be seen as a result of the location of the local authority housing stock, which tends to be in less attractive parts of the borough. This reflects general patterns found in research commissioned by central government to map deprivation on housing estates. The government estimated that there were 100 deprived estates in the borough (DETR, 1998b: 1)[54]. The concentration of stock in particularly deprived areas in Tower Hamlets, is probably also the culmination of residualisation, discussed in Chapter 3. Another explanation is that 1991 Census figures showed that average Bangladeshi household size was larger than that of other ethnic groups. This resulted in a mismatch in available council properties, as there was insufficient available dwellings with four or more bedrooms. To address this problem the Housing Department had a programme of converting smaller properties to larger units and this has occurred particularly on poorer council estates that have higher concentrations of minority ethnic groups (LBTH Housing Strategy, 1998: 20). This has resulted in 45% of larger properties (with 4 or more bedrooms) being located in areas of greatest deprivation.

Deprivation scores were higher on average for groups from areas of origin classed as overcrowded compared to those with general needs, indicating that these groups were moving from more deprived areas. Generally, the destination area scores were better for groups classed as having urgent health or management needs. Waiting list applicants seemed to show some average improvement in their residential setting because of the housing allocation process. Overall, for each housing route group, more than half of applicants were housed in areas ranked 3 or 4, where deprivation is higher. This is important for the patterns observed here, as consequently relatively large proportions of tenants in all groups are being moved to poorer areas, where the local authority housing stock tends to be located. This would be the expected pattern as the majority of council estates are classed as deprived.

[54] Deprived estates are areas where more than 50% of housing was local authority. These fall within the 5% of EDs classified as most deprived. 64% are within the London area.

Formerly homeless tenants included in this analysis would have had little choice about their destination area, since they are made only one offer of housing. However, each housing area is managed by one of the four housing management teams who are set targets for the proportion of homeless lettings. This means that all 32 areas are obliged to rehouse some homeless people, and this consideration may override other criteria for deciding where tenants should be housed. The positive result of this policy is that this ensures that some homeless applicants do move into the better off areas that are least deprived.

However, what this research shows is that tenants were being allocated new lettings predominately in more deprived areas. Recent work by Kearns and Parkes (2003) on mobility in poor neighbourhoods has found that many factors influence moving choices. However, community ties and cohesion, have been shown to be an important issue for housing choice (CRE, 1991b; Forrest and Kearns, 1999). Research has also shown that tenants and applicants may chose to live or remain in an area to be near family (Power and Tunstall, 1995; Cattell and Evans, 1999) or stay within a cultural or ethnic community (Chahal, 2000). This assumes two factors, first that applicants want to stay in some of the deprived area despite poor services and second, that their choice of housing is limited to these areas because of social ties. Social and economic factors deciding their acceptance of housing are a relevant part of this process but an investigation of these is beyond the scope of this research. The analysis reported here was based on actual outcomes where procedural and personal circumstances that have affected decisions were not known.

8.9 CONCLUSION

Within the sector considered here, which only includes local authority housing, there is some evidence that the most disadvantaged groups of applicants (such as the homeless, and ethnic minority tenants) tend to be moved to the poorest areas. However, this is also true for some other groups who, it was hypothesised, might be more advantaged in the housing system. In some respects the analysis here suggests that the most disadvantaged groups are not always being disproportionately disadvantaged in terms of the areas they are allocated to. This suggests that Rawls Pareto criterion (1972) may be met in terms of the areas to which people are allocated.

Disadvantaged tenants are not made worse off because of the allocation process. At the same time, there is little real evidence of positive discrimination in favour of the most disadvantaged groups, in order to achieve a rapid reduction in the geographical inequality of these groups. A positive discrimination strategy would have allocated the most disadvantaged applicants to the most advantaged areas, as well as to the best quality dwellings.

The analysis of ethnic profile for residential areas, before and after new lettings were allocated, suggested that the allocation system did little to reduce spatial segregation of ethnic groups. Therefore, Rawls' (1972) contractual justice criterion is not being met to any significant extent by the allocation system, in terms of the geographical distribution of council tenants. This supports research on social exclusion which shows that ethnic minority groups are still living in poor housing in deprived locations (Smith G, 1999; Power and Wilson, 2000; CRE, 1999).

This chapter has also discussed several limitations to the analysis. This means that a definitive judgement on whether council housing allocation achieves territorial justice cannot be made. Overall, the analysis here does seem to point to the fact that most tenants received new lettings in poorer areas. The work of Harvey (1973: 118; 1996: 296-298) on territorial justice and its links to capitalism may be used to make further general observations about the reasons for the patterns seen here. Harvey (*ibid*) suggested that inequality (seen as deprivation here) would exist given the uneven resource patterns evident in localities. This can be observed from two positions; the varying levels of government funding in localities and differences in the amount of housing available in each location. This chapter has shown that council housing stock is located in the most deprived areas and many tenants applicants and were moved to these poorer parts of Tower Hamlets. As the precise expenditure of regeneration resources is not mapped for EDs in the borough, we can only surmise that tenants might have accepted areas with substantial capital investments in the form of

regeneration projects[55]. If so, this greater level of regeneration investment may in future help to offset the impact current levels of area deprivation.

This analysis can only provide a partial view of the situation in terms of residential concentration and polarisation of different social and ethnic groups through the operation of local housing market. As discussed in Chapter 3, the local authority rented sector is generally becoming a 'tenure of last resort'. Therefore this analysis is limited by focusing only on tenants for whom access to other forms of tenure, like home ownership or private sector renting is not an option. If more privileged tenants are moving out of the local authority rented sector then there might be a degree of social and ethnic polarisation taking place, which cannot be observed in this analysis.

A further limitation of the analysis was that it was not possible from the available data to examine applicant's preferences for different housing areas. An assumption is made here that more deprived areas will be less desirable, and that it will be viewed as a disadvantage to be located in areas of high ethnic minority concentration. This may be a strong assumption. For example, Asian applicants might have preferred to move to estates where there was a large concentration of Asian tenants, in order to be a part of their ethnic community. This preference might be in response to safety issues and to reduce the fear and incidence of racial attacks which is high on some estates where they have smaller proportions of Asian tenants (LBTH, Neighbourhood Renewal, 2001). Overall the analysis provided a geographical discussion of the spatial aspect of social justice linking the outcomes of housing by location to territorial perspectives of justice.

[55] Limited data collected by the DOE between 1986-1994 estimated that at least 25% of all deprived estates had been the subject of some funding under Estate Action, Housing Action Trusts, City Challenge or Single Regeneration Budgets (DOE, 1996).

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION: REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

"Progress, of course, has occurred but is embedded in the nature of things, not automatic and not bound to occur always in the future. It is even well to remind ourselves that there is still no Civilisation but several civilisations, no Humanity but only different sorts of humanity, no Reason but only different modes and kinds of thinking."
Mokwugo Okoye (Amoah, 1989: 182)[56].

9.1 A REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

The main question posed by this research was how useful is social justice as a workable concept for the rationing of social goods. This thesis has shown that there are many elements, which have a crucial role in creating a framework for social justice in housing. The thesis focused on four elements, which provided the structure for the research (as stated in Chapter 1). The research study followed the outline in Table 9.1, the findings from Chapters 5 to 8, will be reviewed following the themes set out in the table.

Table 9.1 Recap of Study

CHAPTERS	SUBJECT	THEMES EXPLORED
Chapter 2	SOCIAL JUSTICE THEORY	Selecting a valid theory and developing theoretical model.
Chapter 3	COUNCIL HOUSING	Social justice connections with Council Housing.
Chapter 4	METHODOLGY	Case study strategy for the Research.
Chapters 5, 6	CASE STUDIES OF HOUSING ALLOCATION	Contestation of policy for stakeholder groups and different localities in housing.
Chapters 7, 8	HOUSING OUTCOMES	Housing received for groups and within and between localities.

Chapter 2 reviewed different theories and ideas about social justice that were applicable to an institutionally based process, such as distribution of local authority housing. The model proposed by Elster (1992) was useful in demonstrating how ideals

[56] This quote expresses the sentiment that the research illuminates aspects of justice and concludes that some progress has been made in understanding the application of justice. It suggests that this reflects the pluralist nature of man and continued progression toward equality for all may be difficult to achieve.

of social justice, such as those proposed by Rawls (1972), can be adapted to evaluate specific systems of rationing social goods in public institutions. Although there is a large literature on abstract theories of social justice, the body of theory relating specifically to the application of these ideas to public institutions, like housing services in the local authority, is relatively limited. This thesis has contributed to theory in this area by illustrating how a theoretical framework can be developed to consider social justice in relation to allocation of a specific type of social good. Chapter 3 has illustrated why distributive and procedural justice in council housing is necessary and important for housing allocation. It confirmed the link between shelter and human need, which then connects housing to social justice (Burke, 1981). This highlighted the need to consider social justice at all levels of the housing allocation process: policy determination, policy implementation and the operation of procedures.

The thesis followed a case study approach in investigating the existence of social justice in policy setting. Chapter 4 explained the various types of case studies and identified a strategy that involved a range of different methods to collect and analyse data (Yin, 1994; Stoecker, 1991). In this way individual case studies were used to focus an enquiry around particular dimensions of justice (Hakim, 1987). Different research methods allowed the exploration and examination of theories of justice and enabled the assessment of whether implicit or explicit views of justice were used in decision and actions in allocating council housing.

Chapter 5 showed that maintaining universal justice principles using prescriptive policy solutions could be difficult in the real setting of the local authority. Legal powers ensured that universal moral principles about equality were upheld by local councils, confirming that Rawls' (1972; 1992) ideas of social justice as a basic requirement of modern society were justified. The Non Discrimination Notice (NDN) applied by the CRE in Tower Hamlets aimed to improve both distributive and procedural justice in council housing allocation. By using legal measures to improve justice, the CRE opened the public debate about access to council housing in the borough. Legal definitions of justice were used and interpreted into policies that applied to council housing allocation. These appeared to be successful in directing

policy toward universal concepts of justice in the *Race Relations Act 1976,* the *Housing Act 1985* and the *Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977.*

In Chapter 6 the research investigated how locality characteristics affected definitions of social justice in policy and outcomes of council housing. The chapter used several case studies, drawing on different aspects of housing policy. These showed that different administrations in the borough localities were often the impetus for moral conflicts in housing. An analysis of the various roles of stakeholders provided some explanations as to why there were policy differences. Evidence showed that stakeholders involved in housing allocation had varying views about social justice. When these views were formalised in policy, unfairness or discrimination occurred, resulting in inequity/inequality between areas. The plurality of views exhibited by stakeholder groups was evident in the contestation of allocation policy. This was seen at different stages of the allocation process from housing access, developing specific policies to outcomes. Some stakeholder views were divergent from the universal egalitarian views that were characterised by the NDN requirements in Chapter 5. Councillors and some residents conceptions of justice were based on principles of desert and right connected to historical evidence and links to housing as reward rather than need.

Chapter 7 and 8 has shown how these ideas may be applied to assess procedural and distributive justice for housing allocation in the local authority sector. Chapter 7 demonstrated that the outcomes of housing allocation can be used to assess the extent to which alternative criteria of social justice were achieved in Tower Hamlets. The analysis can make only a partial examination of this; illustrating that generally outcomes corresponded with some concepts of social justice. Some outcomes, in terms of quality of dwellings allocated to different groups of tenants, did not meet with ideas of justice, which strongly emphasised equity in provision and positive discrimination in favour of disadvantaged groups. This may reflect particular ideas about appropriate forms of social justice held by the council's housing department or views enshrined in legalisation. The failure to achieve all the ideals of a socially just housing allocation system, has to be weighed against other potentially conflicting policy objectives, which are linked to the local authority responsibilities as a landlord.

Findings in Chapter 8 showed that a third of properties allocated in the borough were in relatively deprived areas, indicated by deprivation scores above the 75th percentile. Within the sector considered here, which includes only local authority housing, there is some evidence that the most disadvantaged groups of applicants (such as the homeless, and ethnic minority tenants) tend to move to the poorest areas. The analysis in Chapter 8 also shows that the allocation system tends in some respects to perpetuate the socio-spatial polarisation of different groups of tenants in the council housing sector. The analysis of ethnic profile for residential areas, before and after new lettings were allocated, suggested that the allocation system tends to maintain spatial segregation of ethnic groups. This is particularly evident for different ethnic groups who are rehoused by the council.

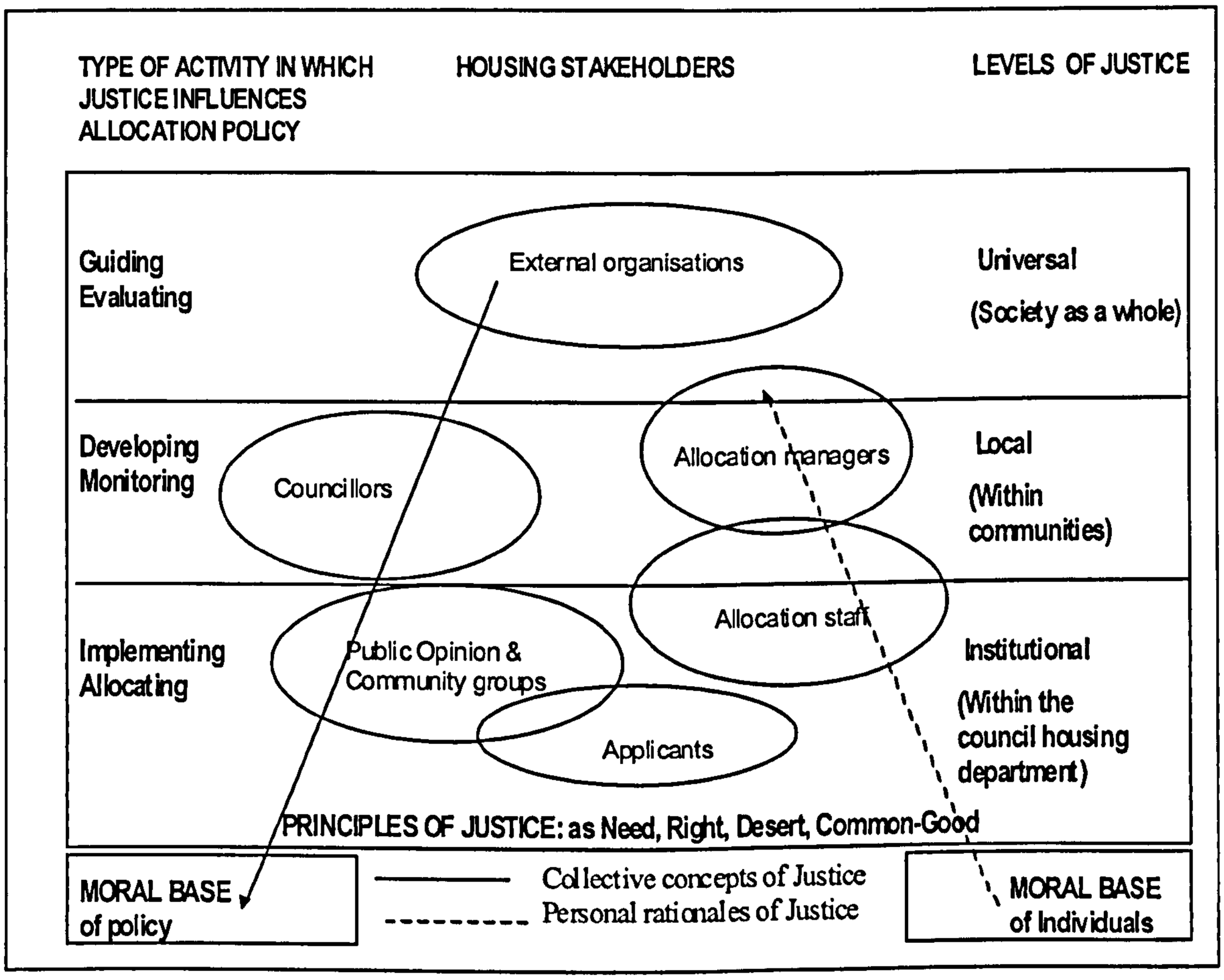
9.2 A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IN COUNCIL HOUSING

The thesis aim was to apply relevant concepts of social justice to public distributions, developing an appropriate justice framework for council housing allocations. This began from a position that argued it was difficult to claim a universal definition of social justice because justice could be interpreted in many ways (Gibb, 2002: 326-327). Therefore a theoretical framework for council housing allocation would comprise different views of justice, including both universal and pluralist conceptions. Nevertheless, universal theory such as Rawls' (1972; 1992; 2001) theory of social justice can be applied generally, both at a societal level and on an individual one. Figure 9.1, based on various theories (reviewed earlier) and developed from my research observations in Tower Hamlets and discussed throughout the thesis, illustrates the geography of justice in council housing.

The diagram shows the different levels at which housing policy is formulated and implemented. The spheres also denote the sphere of action of stakeholders at each level. Each sphere is situated between two axes. The levels that particular justice conception operate are represented on the right axis. These are at three levels, which apply to the arenas where views of justice are dispensed. This corresponds with the influence of justice on policy on the left vertical axis. The left axis sets out the various stages of the policy process, where theories of justice influence particular

responsibilities and duties in managing allocation policy in the period studied. The base of the diagram represents the moral perspectives the foundation of justice views. Both axes are connected by a horizontal line running through the spheres, to show that policy is based on these moral concepts. This comprises institutional and personal rationales of justice.

Figure 9.1 Geography of Justice in Housing



Source: Elster (1992) and Sack (1997) and developed from case study research.

At the universal level, the guiding and evaluation role of central government and regulating bodies expresses ideals of justice thought to apply across the whole society. Allocation guidelines and legislative framework are based on universal egalitarian theories of housing need. As examined in Chapter 5, an important regulating agency for housing in Tower Hamlets has been the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE). Their role in imposing universal justice codes in housing through the NDN provided necessary guidance on justice. The CRE has very clear view on what are just housing policies. Its ideas of justice were based on universal principles of non-discrimination

and equal treatment to disadvantaged groups. They had the assurance that legislation and the court system supported their aims and regulatory position.

At the local level are managers, monitoring staff and councillors in the housing system. Historically in the NDN period the main concerns were with localised policy developments that did not treat all neighbourhoods the same, but saw each locality as independent. This was counter-productive in achieving equity across the borough as a whole, particularly as managers and councillors may be biased towards certain population and groups in their particular localities discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. This can therefore be to the detriment of the borough as a whole and fair allocation objectives for council housing. Uneven resources in localities (Harvey, 1973) and locality characteristics (Pickvance et al., 1990) provided scope for understanding the differentiation of allocation policy analysed in these chapters.

At the institutional level of estate management and housing allocation, notions of justice are expressed through the application of allocation procedures. It is here that decisions to house or rehouse applicants are made. Egalitarian and pluralist perspectives of social justice played an important role in recognising the conflicts that occur in producing outcomes, which maybe considered discriminatory to particular groups. The examination of housing quality and the locations of housing received in Chapters 7 and 8, illustrated the considerations of applying justice to policy outcomes. In addition, constraints of housing demand factors, against stock, growing population and deprivation in localities also confirmed some of the other barriers to achieving social justice in practice. An important theoretical application were that outcomes of allocation evaluated against four levels of justice, could signify different demands of justice represented in distributions.

Two concepts of justice run through the spheres. First, a collective shared concept, where stakeholder groups adhere to a public universal framework of justice in council housing, that prioritises those in greatest need. These tend to permeate the system from the universal level down to the institutional level. The second is a very personal pluralist rationale of justice, based on individual belief systems, developed into notions of justice. This operates from the bottom up. This personal rationale may be the

essential explanation as to why different implicit theories of justice occur simultaneously between groups and in localities and institutions. Multiples rationales are evident in the contestation of justice, seen in the behaviour of councillors, housing staff and community groups, often altering expected just outcome or distributions for groups and areas discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. This contrasts with a universal public, explicit theory that aims for a consensus view used by the CRE. The outcome of allocation procedures the terms of distribution of council housing can be evaluated by assessing how far universal justice principles are served or how far local variability and discrimination may operate.

This model demonstrates that social justice can be practically applied to public distributions. Theorists reviewed in Chapter 2 helped to explain the significance of places, social groups and organisations in understanding the complex nature of social justice in the practical process of housing allocation. The moral basis of justice was used to understand pluralist ideas of justice occurring in different geographical localities in the borough and outside in the wider society. However, universal egalitarian theories provided the context of the cogent relationship of social justice to rationing goods. Thus, universal definitions of justice provided a standard, from which other, locally variable, definitions of social justice could be compared to.

9.3 JUSTICE IN COUNCIL HOUSING: LESSONS FOR TOWER HAMLETS

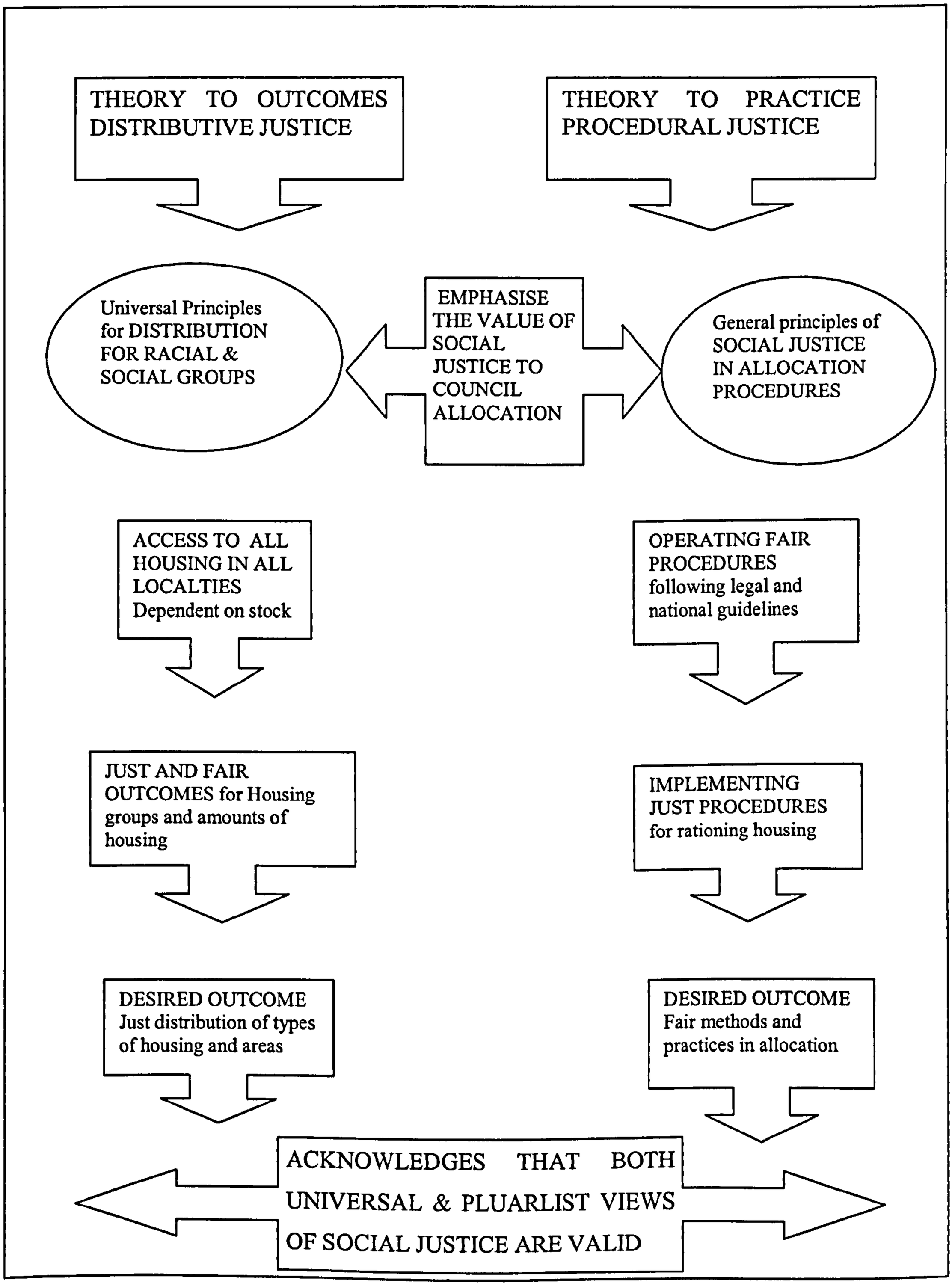
This section considers the relevance of this research findings for housing policy. Council housing is an important component for a person's well being, recognised by the agencies that provide it and the government that regulates it. In Tower Hamlets the research showed that it is possible to identify implicit or explicit ideas about social justice, which form the rationale of local groups involved in housing. These views are evident in the actions and discourse of the different groups of stakeholders involved in housing policy in Tower Hamlets (for example as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6). The development of housing allocation policy for the borough hinged on political action and local group interests. For local political reasons, there is evidence that criteria apart from need were used to determine priority for housing. Policies such as the 'Sons and Daughters Scheme' showed that applicants were housed because they were

thought to be 'deserving' rather than having severe housing needs. The discussion in Chapters 5 and 6 showed that these dual concepts of need and desert were not compatible with a fair allocation process in the borough. Various legal measures initiated by the CRE, in the form of the NDN and Affidavits were necessary to redirect and guide policy toward fair objectives that included universal notions of justice.

The political ideologies dominating local authority administration at different time periods were a major contributory factor in the view of justice expressed. Thus, the representation of council housing by the Liberal and Labour administrations exhibited fundamental differences. The Liberal run Housing Directorates of 1986 and 1990 were motivated by principles of right and desert which conflicted with egalitarian principles of need. This was connected to Liberal ideals of local democracy and their policy of encouraging council sales. More importantly, housing was strongly associated with territory through history and residence, hence the strong defence of the 'Sons and Daughters' scheme, and the poor record of racial equality in allocating housing to ethnic minority applicants (Hewett and Adams, 1994: 32). The incoming Labour administration of 1994 was determined to remove some of the extremes of the inequitable procedural mechanisms. However, the research has shown that spatial polarisation of different ethnic group still remains.

During the period of study, council housing in Tower Hamlets presented politicians with the opportunity to develop localised policies concerned with resources in their localities. Decentralised housing departments had autonomy over stock and lettings, in a situation where the receipt of housing represented considerable advantage and gain in a deprived borough. For other stakeholders, there were clear disadvantages. Community groups and the media opposed the policy for allocation of housing by the local authority. They argued that only those applicants with high negotiating power had favourable treatment others such as the homeless were not represented fairly. This situation was why the CRE found it necessary to intervene in housing in the borough.

Figure 9.2 Representation of Social Justice in Tower Hamlets Case Studies of Council Housing Distributions and Procedures. Source: Research Findings



In Figure 9.2 representations of the lessons learned from the research are shown. The two flows illustrate the components and the stages required for the effective application of social justice in the borough. Within Tower Hamlets localities, it is important to understand that social justice perspectives were of major importance for distributing council housing. Therefore, principles of distribution should be based on universal views at the top of the figure. Distributive justice for localities should focus on the deprived locations that ethnic minorities are predominately allocated to. One strategy is implementing effective safety and community empowerment in some of these estates (LBTH, Neighbourhood Renewal, 2001). Another option maybe to encourage housing partnership in some of the more affluent areas, which may provide some mixing of population groups to other areas (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1999).

The other component identified by the second flow was procedural justice through the allocation system. This must focus on the most disadvantaged groups gaining a larger share of best properties that may result in outcomes that are more equitable. However, the operation of a single offer policy in the allocation system does provide a major obstacle to this. Moreover, waiting list applicants were given more than a single offer and are also more likely to gain from improvements in allocations through the 'Choice Based Lettings' policy. In this respect, fulfilling desired outcome of the best housing for disadvantaged groups was difficult to achieve when the practicalities of stock, location and landlord responsibilities are fully considered. The contestation of policy implementation and outcomes acknowledges the plural nature of justice, at the base of the figure.

Figure 9.2 is useful for summarising some of the practical findings of the thesis in the localities of the borough. The thesis showed that differences in views about the meaning of justice resulted in tensions between local and national agencies, in interpreting the aims and outcomes of housing policy. Ideally allocation policy should be based on universally agreed criteria of social justice and not on local interests or ideologies of specific ruling political factions.

The case studies related to a particular time when different stakeholders had varying views of justice, and pluralist views were evident. Consensus on justice was difficult

then, as local views by politicians and some institutional staff took prominence over universal egalitarian views. Allen's study of housing policy implementation and public institutions found similar issues of diverse policy objectives, actor interests and conflicts of needs (2001: 153). Allen found that these tensions in policy made it difficult for a definitive ruling of whether failure had occurred. This was the case here, universal principles may not be achieved but alternative principles and objectives often were.

It appears that the borough has learnt some lessons since the study took place. Policy formulation is no longer locally based, but is consistently developed centrally, though implementation is still decentralised but with less autonomy. Housing outcomes will show some gradual changes, as letting procedures are set to change to incorporate more choice. However, no system has been developed to monitor quality of property, which the research has identified as an issue of justice. Renewal strategies on some estates are planned to improve housing conditions, but polarisation related to the residential segregation of ethnic groups in the borough localities may reduce their effectiveness and success (LBTH, Neighbourhood Renewal, 2001).

9.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Evaluation of the council housing system would ideally include a comprehensive assessment of all aspects of the policy process, such as Henderson and Karn's (1984) investigations. In practice, this research has only been able to investigate some dimensions (especially information on public policy debates, details of procedures and data on outcomes of allocation). Access to restricted records and documents provided invaluable insight in this research. Despite these techniques, the research lacked data on applicants' progress through the system (including waiting times and numbers of offers they received before accepting a property). Table A.6 (in the appendix) sets out several housing related data sets that were requested, but were not available due to various circumstances. Some were too sensitive or confidential to release, others were not collected or could not be dis-aggregated or anonyomised easily for academic research.

The role of housing officers allocating properties could not be observed directly. In addition, comprehensive information on applicants' background, especially their socio-economic characteristics and their preferences for different types of property, were not available. This would have been valuable, enhancing the understanding of applicant perceptions and expectations of housing, and of factors that may be affecting outcomes, connected to implicit or explicit notions of justice.

9.5 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Bearing in mind the preceding caveats about the limitations of this research, some policy recommendations can be proposed on the basis of the findings reported here. Greater emphasis on enforceable targets for homeless people within a locality would be desirable. Applicants should all have access to good information about the operation of the housing allocation system, since some groups are apparently disadvantaged.

The council is trying to achieve a greater mix of tenure and housing type in different parts of the borough (LBTH, Housing Strategy, 1998: 15; 1999: 20-24). This seems desirable and should be encouraged. Ethnic and social segregation has been a continuing issue in local authority housing allocation. The analysis here suggests that this continues to be a problem and further initiatives to address the problem would be desirable. Commentators suggest ethnic minority housing needs are still not being met (Inside Housing, 2000b) and that racism remains a problem in housing (Inside Housing, 2000c). More consideration might be given to information on allocation in different local housing areas across the borough. The ethnic monitoring reports are less detailed today than during the period of the NDN and greater detail should be reinstated. At the national level there is a move to place more requirements on public bodies to promote racial equality and the findings reported here would support this policy. Housing monitoring systems should include assessment of the quality of housing allocated to different groups of applicants. The assessment should include the nature of the property itself and the environment. This thesis showed how such a quality assessment might be developed from routine sources, and it would be desirable to validate this type of classification by reference to tenants' views.

9.6 THE POTENTIAL FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There is potential for future development of this research. Questions of social and ethnic polarisation and residualisation in the local authority sector have been considered here. The extent to which recent regeneration initiatives have affected these phenomena was usefully explored. Specifically the research reported here developed measures of housing quality for individual council housing properties and housing areas using routine data sources. For future research, it would be significant to validate this using information on tenants' preferences and choices.

The operation of the housing system for particular groups of applicants would merit further research. Applicants with complex needs such as those with housing needs relating to medical conditions or disability might have varying experience depending on their negotiating position in the housing system (Smith, 1990). It is difficult to provide broad generalisations about the nature of social justice in council housing management in Tower Hamlets localities. This thesis demonstrated how contentious the issue is and what varying views on the matter are held by different groups involved. Nevertheless it is beneficial to hold up principles for fair rationing of goods, and equality of access based on need.

The research has shown that ethnic minority and homeless groups have been systematically disadvantaged in Tower Hamlets in terms of principles of fairness. After the intervention by the CRE, there was some evidence of positive action to redress the resulting inequalities. The demands of the population and the poor housing stock (particularly the mismatch in size) are fundamental factors that may militate against achievement of justice at the highest level of equality. This would be equivalent to Rawls (1972: 60) difference principle that distributions should be at the benefit of the least advantaged. The intervention of the NDN set a precedent for universal justice and fairness. A legacy remains, but this has not survived with sufficient vigour and thus council policy after the NDN, still showed pluralist conceptions. Research in one of the housing localities could be conducted to assess how applicant groups are faring in the light of the current policy on 'Choice Based Lettings' that has since been implemented.

9.7 RESEARCH OVERVIEW AND CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL JUSTICE

This thesis has contributed to debates about the purpose of council housing and the moral principles involved in rationing housing (Brown, 2000). The importance of Smith (1994; 2000b; 2000c) and Harvey (1996) to debates on justice reflected the neglected geographical and moral landscapes of justice to everyday living. This thesis has attempted to position public distributive systems as meaningful and important to understanding justice in urban geography.

Since the research has taken place there have been significant changes in the council housing sector that may have superseded some of the policy recommendations. For example, the renewal of the institutional racism debate initiated by enquiry into the death of a black teenager Stephen Lawrence by Sir William Macpherson (Macpherson, 1999)[57]. The report of the inquiry again focused on discrimination in public organisations reaffirming equality aims to treat service users fairly regardless of race. This was followed by policy recommendations for the social housing sector (Dwelly, 2001). In addition this debate was supported by new legislation in the *Race Relations (Amendment Act) 2000* that enforced the duty of local authorities to act fairly and strengthened the powers of the *Race Relations Act 1976* and the CRE to act against discrimination (CRE, 2002). Within housing legislation the *Homelessness Bill 2001* proposed increased duties to provide council housing for other vulnerable groups such as young adults, widening access and confirming a wider basis of need (ODPM, 2003).

The 21st century witnessed the debate about justice in allocation moving forward with the piloting of 'Choice Based Lettings Schemes' by social landlords (DTLR, 2000; Winn, 2001). 'Choice Based Lettings' involve a more active role for tenants, removing some of the matching activities undertaken by staff in lettings, replacing this with tenants' choosing their own housing from a list of advertised vacant properties. The onus for discrimination moving away from the institutional setting toward a shared responsibility for allocation with applicants as well as officers.

[57] An enquiry into the death of a black teenager Stephen Lawrence produced a report by Sir William Macpherson often referred to as the Macpherson report. This had wide consequences for equalities policy in the public and private sector.

Tower Hamlets has instigated such a system where empty dwellings are advertised, many with photographs in the local paper. Tenants then select and apply for accommodation they consider suitable, providing an opportunity for more involvement for council applicants. The research findings suggest that this new method of selection may be advantageous to some groups. It is too early to make a definitive assessment on the justice implication of schemes, as schemes are being piloted (Cole et al., 2001). One general observation may be that applicants suffering severe disadvantages may not have the ability or be proactive to fare well in this system. This would reflect the situation of varying bargaining power identified in Chapter 7, where certain groups were able to gain better housing.

I argue that the research reported here contributes to knowledge in the disciplines of geography, public policy and philosophy. The theoretical model is particularly valid for general discussion and understanding of distribution and allocation system for social goods. Linking social justice models with housing policy has shown how, at a local level, various interpretations of justice are influenced by local characteristics. Other authors have also shown that ideas of justice may be contingent upon particular locations (Arthurson, 2001) or specific conditions (Loftman et al., 1994). Economic factors and local stakeholders were found to be very influential in interpreting conceptions of justice for place and social housing. The research suggests that interpretations of social justice should rely on concepts of inequality in the deprivation of localities, and the built environment of individual dwellings on council housing estates (Perrons and Syers, 2001: 7-17; Visser, 2000: 4-7).

Case studies demonstrated that specific issues of policy were raised to a different degree in different borough locations. There were elements of political bargaining; ideas of justice were based on the diverse power of stakeholder groups in negotiating their interests and conceptions in the neighbourhoods. The research has contributed to work on housing implementation by identifying the types of behaviour concerned with certain types of justice objectives. Findings illustrated that stakeholders' actions were based on different ethical and moral premises that they considered valid for interpreting needs and distributions. This diversity of views contributed to

implementation problems that resulted in unequal outcomes in council housing localities.

Outside of the local authority stakeholders were externally engaged in three specific types of action connected to justice:

i) *Enforcing actions* from external organisations and pressure groups to ensure that equal opportunity and universal and fair ideals were key objectives in policy. The CRE and LGO achieved this through statutory powers and collaboration of interests.

ii) *Participatory actions* to influence public perception about injustice in the system were disseminated by the print media and professional/academic debates. Actions were aimed at invoking and informing local constituents and people in the society.

iii) *Defensive actions* by local politicians confirmed that their position was to interpret local needs and exposing their agenda of racial politics in some localities.

This research has shown that those least advantaged in the system often suffer further injustice, because of their social and economic position in society. Area deprivation and polarisation were perpetuated by the receipt of council housing, partly because council housing stock is geographically concentrated in certain areas. Injustices in access to housing cannot be erased by equitable local authority policies alone, even if council housing represents a part of the basis on which to build a just society (Goodlad and Gibb, 1994).

Appendix A. 1

HOUSING SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE Date:... :... :... Researcher Jenny M Lowe

This interview will take approx. 20 to 25 minutes. The answers that you give to questions will be treated in the strictest confidence, you and your family will not be able to be identified. All the information obtained will be used purely for research purposes only, it will not enhance your housing priority nor will it speed up any outstanding applications you have with the housing department.

Estate.....Location number.....

Type of Property: Flat ☐ **1** Maisonette ☐ **2** Bedsit ☐ **3**

Floor Level of front door:.....

Part I Dwelling		
		Coding
Tenure	Do you? a) Rent your home from the Council ☐ **1** b) Have a mortgage ☐ **2** c) Other ☐ **3**	_____
Size	According to your tenancy agreement how many bedrooms do you have? Bedsit 1 2 3 4	_____
Extfac	Does this property have? Garden ☐ **1** Prvt rear balcony ☐ **2** None ☐ **3**	_____
Heating	Is your property centrally heated by? Radiators ☐ **1** Storage heaters ☐ **2** Convector /air ☐ **3** no CH ☐ **4**	_____
Repairs	How many major repairs have you had in the last year? 0 ☐ **1** 1-3 ☐ **2** 4-6 ☐ **3** 7-10 ☐ **4** More than 10 ☐ **5**	_____
Damp	Is there any damp in the flat? Yes ☐ **1** No ☐ **2** If Yes Where? Bedroom ☐ **1** Kitchen ☐ **2** Bathroom ☐ **3**, Living room ☐ **4** Hall ☐ **5**	_____ _____

Part 2 Household Type:		
Numadult	How many adults (over 18s) are there in your home? Numbers: _____	
Famrel	Are any of these adults your? *(More than one box can be ticked* Husband ☐ **1** Wife ☐ **2** Daughter ☐ **3** Son ☐ **4** Sister ☐ **5** Brother ☐ **6** Mother ☐ **7** Father ☐ **8** Other relative ☐ **9** Not related ☐ **10**	_____
Famstruc	**Recode** 1-2 = Spouse ☐ **1** 3-4=Children ☐ **2** 5-6= Siblings ☐ **3** 7,8.9=ExtFam ☐ **2 4** 1-9=MultFam **5** 10=NoFam **6**	_____
Children	Are there children in the house with you? *(More than one box can be ticked)* Children 0-4 ☐ **1** Children 5-16 ☐ **2** Children 17-18 ☐ **3** None ☐ **4**	_____
Ethnicity	Which Ethnic group do you belong to? White ☐ **1** Bangladeshi ☐ **2** Caribbean/West Indian ☐ **3** Somali ☐ **4** Other African (West, East, Southern) ☐ **5** Indian/Pakistani ☐ **6** Vietnamese/Chinese ☐ **7** Mixed Race ☐ **8** Other ☐ **9** please state:	_____
Work	Can you please tell me whether any of the adults fall into any of the following?*(More than one box can be ticked)*: FT worker 30hrs a week ☐ **1** Full-time student ☐ **5** PT worker U30hrs a week ☐ **2** Caring for relatives ☐ **6** On a Govt scheme ☐ **3** Looking after children ☐ **7** Not working, ☐ **4** Retired ☐ **8** Other. ☐ **9**	_____

Part 3 Occupancy:		
		Coding
Residency	When did you move to this address? Date _____ a) Under 2 yrs ☐ **1** b) 3-8 yrs ☐ **2** c) 9-10 yrs ☐ **3** 10+ yrs ☐ **4**	_____ ____
GLC	If 10+years/pre 1987, Were you ever a (GLC) Greater London Council tenant? Yes ☐ **1** No ☐ **2**	_____
PreHtype	Can you remember your housing status when you moved here? Homeless ☐ **1** Waiting List ☐ **2** Transfer ☐ **3** No Idea ☐ **4**	____
Prepriority	Can you remember your housing priority at the time? High e.g. Homeless Decant ☐ **1** Medium e.g. Management Medical, ☐ **2** Low e.g. Lacking beds, lacking facilities ☐ **3** Can't remember ☐ **4**	_____
Preoffer	Was this property your first offer Yes ☐ **1** No ☐ **2** **If No** how many refusals did you make? number: _____ **If Yes** was this a one only homeless offer Yes ☐ **1** No ☐ **2**	_____ _____ ____
Part 4 Satisfaction with Property		
Mobility	Have you always lived at this address? Yes ☐ **1** No ☐ **2**	_____
DecPriority	After the council decided to decant you has your housing priority changed? Yes ☐ **1** No ☐ **2**	_____
AddPriority	If yes, do you know whether you now have priority for any of the following?: Additional Health..... ☐ **1** Less bedrooms ☐ **3** Extra bedrooms..... ☐ **2** Don't know ☐ **4**	_____
Multipapps	Is there more than 1 application for housing from this address? Yes ☐ **1** No ☐ **2**	_____
Houimprov	In order of priority what would feel would improve your housing situation? a) Extra Bedroom(s) ☐ **1** b) Move to Maisonette/House ☐ **2** c) Garden/Prvt balcony ☐ **3** d) Security/entry system ☐ **4** e) Lower floor ☐ **5** f) Less Bedroom(s) ☐ **6** g) Change estate/area ☐ **7** h) Move out of Borough ☐ **8**	_____
OthPriority	Are you aware that you have any other housing priority ? Yes ☐ **1** No ☐ **2**	_____
SatHousing	In general how satisfied are you with your housing? Very satisfied ☐ **1** Satisfied ☐ **2** It's OK ☐ **3** Unsatisfied ☐ **4** Very dissatisfied ☐ **5**	

Part 5 General Health		
		Coding
Disabled.	Is there anyone with a disability in this home? Yes □ **1** No □ **2** Is the person registered disabled? Yes □ **1**No □ **2** Is this person? an Adult □ **1** or a Child □ **2**	_____ _____ _____
Healthstat.	Can you please tell me, How do you rate your general health ? (a) Excellent □ **1** (d) Fair □ **4** (b) Very Good □ **2** (e) Poor □ **5** (c) Good □ **3** (f) Don't know □ **6**	_____
Healthill	Does anyone in the household suffer from ill health? Yes □ **1** No □ **2**	_____
Healthtype	If Yes is the illness? (a) physical □ **1** (c) long term □ **3** (b) psycho-social □ **2** (d) chronic □ **4**	_____
Healthhou	How strongly do you agree with the statements, "That your housing affects the health of people living in your home"? Strongly agree □ **1** Agree □ **2** Neither/nor disagree □ **3** Disagree □ **4** Strongly disagree □ **5**	_____
Healthprob	Does anyone in the household experience any of the following health problems since living in this property ? *(Score for each adult in Household)* **Mobility** Moving around, bathing, stairs □ **1** □ **2** □ **3** □ **4** **General .Health** damp/cold/draughts, pests □ **1** □ **2** □ **3** □ **4** **Social Isolation** Neighbours/community □ **1** □ **2** □ **3** □ **4** **Mental Health** Worry, Depression □ **1** □ **2** □ **3** □ **4** **Social Exclusion** Harassment abuse □ **1** □ **2** □ **3** □ **4**	_____ _____ _____ _____ _____
Part 6 Medical Housing		
Medhinfo	Have you spoken to any of the following about Medical housing? Estate Officer □ **1** Other council dept. □ **3** Medical housing section □ **2** GP/hospital □ **4** Other please state □ **5** ..... Does not apply □ **6**	_____ _____ _____ _____
Medhstat	**If Yes** have you ? Applied for medical housing □ **1** Already awarded points □ **3** Are waiting for visit/assessment, □ **2** Already awarded points □ **3**	_____
Medadapt	Has this property any adaptations e.g. rails/ramps to make it easier for someone with a disability or long-term illness to live here? Yes □ **1** No □ **2** If No Have you ever requested any adaptations? Yes □ **1** No □ **2**	_____

Part 7 Satisfaction with environment:		
		Coding
EnvInv	Could you please tell me whether anyone in this household is a member of any of the following local groups? Current Member / Past Member / Never joined Tenants Assoc ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 Youth club (13+yrs) ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 Baby/Toddler Grp ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 Kids Group (5-14yrs) ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 Pensioners Club ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 Other group ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 Please state other group.....	____ ____
Envsecure	Do you feel secure within your home? Yes ☐ 1 No ☐ 2 Don't know ☐ 3	____
Envfac	How do you rate the following on your estate? Good / Satisfactory / Poor Children's safety ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 Play/Youth facilities ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 Caretaking/Cleaning ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 Safety/Security ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3	____ ____ ____ ____
Envoff	How helpful are your local housing office? Very helpful ☐ 1 Helpful ☐ 2 OK ☐ 3 Unhelpful ☐ 4 Very Unhelpful ☐ 5.	____
Envserv	How do you rate services in the area? Excellent / Good / Satisfactory / Fair / Poor Bus Services ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 Underground ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 Schools ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 Shops ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5	____ ____ ____ ____
Envdis.	Do any of the following factors affect your satisfaction with your home? Traffic noise/pollution ☐ 1 Industrial noise/pollution ☐ 2 Other environmental factors ☐ 3 Tenant Disputes/noise ☐ 4 Racial Harassment/Abuse ☐ 5	____ ____ ____ ____

Part 8 General Comments:		
Comments	Do you have any specific comments about your housing?	____

Thank you for your time and patience to answer these questions. I would just like to say again, that answers will be dealt with in the strictest confidence and you will not be identified in the research findings.

Table A.2:The composition of Variables in Housing Dataset

TYPE OF DATA	VARIABLE NAME	CATEGORIES
Personal	Race-	White Asian Black Other None Refused
	Ethnicity	African Other Bangladeshi British Caribbean Chinese East African Greek Cypriot Indian Irish Other African Pakistani Refused Somali Turkish Cypriot Vietnamese
Housing Status	Housing Route	Waiting Transfer Homeless
	Housing Need Group 1995-1997	Client Interest, General Needs Homeless Management Overcrowding Statutory Urgent Health
	Target Group 1998	Waiting : General, Homeless, Council Interest, Reciprocal, Urgent Health
	Target Group 1998	Transfers: General, Management, Urgent Health, Decants, Under Occupier
	Tenancy Date	Month tenancy began
Geographical Data	Borough Area moved from	1 of 4 Localities and Homeless Services
	Borough Area moved To-	One of 4 localities
	Housing Office moved To	One of 36 estate areas
	Housing Office moved From	36 housing estate areas and Homeless services
Property Data	Number of bedrooms	Bedsit1 bedroom to 6 bedrooms
	Floor level	Basement, Ground floor to 27th
	Lifted	Yes or No
	Type of building	Bungalow Flat House semi House terraced Maisonette Elderly warden Elderly no warden Sheltered housing
	Central Heating	Fully Heated Part C/Heating No C/Heating

Table A.3: Desirablity Scores for Sample Data

VARIABLE NAME	VALUE LABEL	VALUE	Very Desirable	Desirable	Desirable/Undesirab	Undesirable	Very Undesirable
OFFBED	Bedsit	0				X	
	1 bedroom	1			X		
	2 bedrooms	2			X		
	3 bedrooms	3			X		
	4 bedrooms	4			X		
	5 bedrooms	5			X		
	6 bedrooms	6			X		
CENTHEAT	None	0					X
	Full central heating	1		X			
	Part central heating	2			X		
FLRLVL	Basement	-1		X			
	Ground floor	0	X				
	1st floor	1		X			
	2nd floor	2		X			
	3rd floor	3			X		
	4th floor	4			X		
	5th floor	5				X	
	6th floor	6				X	
	7th floor	7				X	
	8th floor	8				X	
	9th floor	9				X	
	10th floor	10					X
	11th floor	11					X
	12th floor	12					X

Table A.3: Desirablity Scores for Sample Data

VARIABLE NAME	VALUE LABEL	VALUE	Very Desirable	Desirable	Neither Desirable nor Undesirable	Undesirable	Very Undesirable
	13th floor	13					X
	14th floor	14					X
	15th floor	15					X
	16th floor	16					X
	17th floor	17					X
	18th floor	18					X
	19th floor	19					X
	20th floor	20					X
	21st floor	21					X
	22nd floor	22					X
	23rd floor	23					X
	24th floor	24					X
	27th floor	27					X
LIFT	NO	0				X	
	YES	1		X			
TYPE	Bungalow	BUNGLW	X				
	Eldery non-warden	EPDNON			X		
	Eldery warden	EPDWAR		X			
	Flat	FLAT			X		
	Semi-detached hse	HSESMI	X				
	Terraced house	HSETRR	X				
	Maisonette	MAISNT		X			
	Sheltered flat	SHLFLT		X			

Appendix A.4: Ranking of Applicant Characteristics by Disadvantage for Sample Data

APPLICANT CHARACTERISTIC	CLASSIFICATION OF CHARACTERISTIC	DISADVANTAGE SCALE AND RANK
Housing Route variable	Homeless Waiting Transfer	1 2 3
Housing Need variable	Need Groups - 1995-97 Homeless Urgent Health Management Overcrowding General Needs	 1 2 3 4 5
	Need Groups 1998 Waiting : Homeless Urgent Health Council Interest General Reciprocal Transfers: Urgent Health Decant General Under Occupier	 1 2 3 2 6 2 3 4 5
Race variable	Asian Black White Mixed Other Refused None	1 2 3 4 4 4 4

Table A.5 Combined Locality and Lettings Data Set Variables

Variable	Variable Code	Variable Format
Average Index	AVINDEX	Number Format
Average unemployed in 1991	AVUNEMP	Number Format
Average Overcrowded more than one person per room	AVOVERC	Number Format
Average households lacking basic amenities	AVLACK	Number Format
Average children in low earning households	AVKIDS	Number Format
Average households with no car	AVNOCAR	Number Format
Originating Estate Office / Destination Estate Office	LHOF LHOT	String Format:
Estate Office	HOUSING	Number Format
Community Areas	LOCALITY	Number Format
Total Households Origin Total Households Destination	TOTHHF TOTHHT	Number Format
White Households Origin White Households Destination	WHIHHF WHIHHFT	Number Format
Black Households Origin Black Households Destination	BLCKHHF BLCKHHFT	Number Format
Bangladeshi Households Origin Bangladeshi Households Destination	BANHHF BANHHFT	Number Format
Chinese Households Origin Chinese Households Destination	CHINESEF/ CHINESEFT	Number Format
Owner Occupiers Origin Owner Occupiers Destination	OOHHF OOHHFT	Number Format
Private Rented Origin Private Rented Origin & Destination	PRIVATEF/ PRIVATEF/T	Number Format
Housing Association Origin Housing Association Origin & Destination	HAHHF/ HAHHF/T	Number Format
Local Authority Origin Housing Association Origin & Destination	LAHHF/ LAHHF/T	Number Format
No heating or hot water Origin No heating or hot water Destination	NOHEATF/ NOHEATFT	Number Format

Table A.6 Other Monitoring Data, Not Available to the Research

POSSIBLE DATA SOURCES	REASON NOT USED or AVAILABLE	RESEARCH ROLE
Lettings Data		
Lettings by bed-spaces	Not recorded	Calculate the number of people that a property can hold
Number of refusals Number of offers	Available only from Period from 1996	To investigate the treatment of different groups.
Time waiting for offers	Period from 1996	Length of time in the system
Supply of Housing		
Availability of properties by bed size on the match list	Difficult to capture	To be able to calculate supply and distribution of stock in localities.
Supply of properties available by area & estate	In the process of computerising stock list	To know supply and distribution of stock in localities.
Estate Information		
Stock size total number of properties by area & estate	In the process of computerising stock list	To calculate proportion of properties available for letting
Quality of properties by Estate, condition major repairs or refurbishment	No quality grading system exists, HIP or major repairs	Important for an assessment of environmental housing factors. e.g. density and types of properties
Number of Repairs (minor) by area & estate	Locality data for all 4 areas is not consistent	To assess state of repair towards and quality of properties
Number of Empty properties (Voids) by area & estate	Not available for research, management data	Of some importance to research to estimate desirability
Personal		
Housing benefit claimants	Confidential	Economic status of applicants
Age Gender of Applicants	Safeguard the anonymity of applicants	Background on tenants
Household size	Sensitive information	Household formation and allocation
Safety		
Racial Harassment, crime and noise pollution incidents	Confidential	Estate desirability

Source: Based on Interviews and correspondence with Director of Housing, Senior Regeneration Officer and Allocations Staff.

GLOSSARY

Allocation is the process of distributing goods through various decision making procedures.

Concepts are the formalised construction of an idea.

Distribution relate to the quantities of goods possessed in the final state.

Framework are the basic structure of ideas, the mechanics of a theory.

Model a description of concepts used to visualise a theory.

Notion can be described as an undeveloped idea' not yet substantiated into theory.

Perspective several views or theories of a subject based from a particular standpoint.

Policy a representation of a set of principles that are based around a concept of justice.

Policy Intent the main theoretical view or idea that can be interpreted into a practical application known as a policy.

Policy Objectives are broad statements reflecting the overall plan (intent) of a policy.

Policy Principles are individual statements that define key issues of a policy and may be formed into objectives.

Policy Procedures are processes that involve the implementation of policy principles to produce the policy objectives in the form of (desired outcomes).

Theoretical Themes denote the wider background/emphasis running through a theory.

Theory the ordering of concepts into a coherent whole as prescriptive elements, either in a model or framework.

View the particular theory of a writer or exponent of a theory.

Sources: Dictionary of Human Geography, Johnston and Gregory et. al., 2000.

The Collins Dictionary of Sociology, Jary and Jary, 1999.

A Dictionary of Political Thought, Scruton, 1982.

Public Policy: An Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy, Parsons, 1995.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Agnew, J. A. (1987) Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society, Allen and Unwin: London.

Allen, C. (2001) They just don't live and breathe policy like we do: Policy intentions and practice dilemmas in modern social policy. Policy Studies 22 (4) 149-166.

Allen, T. (2000) Housing Renewal - Doesn't it make you sick? Housing Studies 15 (3) 443-462.

AMA, Association of Metropolitan Authorities. (1985) Housing and Race: Policies and Practices in Local Authorities, Association of Metropolitan Authorities: London.

Ambrose, P. (1996a) I mustn't laugh too much: Housing and Health on the Limehouse Fields and Ocean Estates in Stepney, Sussex Centre for Urban and Regional Research: University of Sussex.

Ambrose, P. (1996b) Bad Housing - Counting the Cost, Working Paper Number 90, Centre for Urban and Regional Research University of Sussex: Brighton.

Amoah, O. (1989) A Political Dictionary of Black Quotations, Oyokoanyinaase House: London.

Anderson, I. (2000) Housing and Social Exclusion the Changing Debate, in eds. Anderson, I. and Sim, D. Social Exclusion and Housing: Context and Challenges, p6-21 Chartered Institute of Housing: Coventry.

Anthias, F. (1990) Race and class revisited - conceptualising race and racism, Sociological Review 30 (1) 19-42.

Anthias, F. and Yuval-Davis, N. (1993) Racialized Boundaries, Routledge: London.

Anwar, M. (1990) Ethnic classifications, ethnic monitoring and the 1991 Census New Community 16 (4) 607-615.

Armstong, W. (1996) Ward Level Social Indicators: Z-Scores, London Research Centre: London.

Arrow, K. (1984) Social Choice and Justice, Basil Blackwell: Oxford.

Arthurson, K. (2001) Achieving social justice in estate regeneration: the impact of physical image construction, Housing Studies 16 (6) 807-826.

Asian Herald. (1988a) CRE Challenges Tower Hamlets, 26.10.88-01.11.88.

Asian Herald. (1988b) Letter from Brenda Collins, Leader of Tower Hamlets Council, 09.11.88-15.11.88.

Audit Commission. (1986) Managing the Crisis in Council Housing, HMSO: London.

Audit Commission. (1989) Managing Services Effectively, Performance Review. HMSO: London.

Baboolal, E. (1981) Black Residential Distribution in South London (1971), in eds. Jackson, P. and Smith, S. J. Social Interaction and Ethnic Segregation, p59-79 Academic Press: London.

Back, L. and Solomos, J. (1993) Doing research, writing politics: the dilemmas of political intervention in research on racism, Economy and Society 22 (2) 178-199.

Bailey, C. (2001) Geographers doing household research; intrusive research and moral accountability, Area 33 (1) 107-110.

Bailey, M. (1992) Do physicists use case studies? Thoughts on Public Administration Research, Public Administration Review 52 (1) 47 -54.

Balchin, P. (1995) Housing Policy: An Introduction, Routledge: London.

Balchin, P. and Rhoden, M. (1998) Housing the Essential Foundations, Routledge: London.

Banton, M. (1997) Ethnic and Racial Consciousness, 2nd edition, Addison Wesley Longman: Harlow.

Barrett, S. and Fudge, C. eds. (1981) Policy and action: essays on the implementation of public policy Methuen: London.

Barrett, S. and Hill, M. (1984) Policy, bargaining and structure in implementation theory: towards an integrated perspective, Policy and Politics 12 (3) 219-240.

Barry, B. (1980) Is Social Justice a Myth, in eds. Ericsson L et al Justice: Social and Global. Stockholm International Symposium on Justice, September 1978.

Barry, B. (1995a) Justice as Impartiality: A Treatise on Social Justice, Clarendon Press: Oxford.

Barry, B. (1995b) John Rawls and the search for stability, Journal of Ethics 5: 874-915.

Baumgartner, M. and Nilsson D. (1991) Moral Order of a Suburb, Reprinted, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Bell, J. (1992) Justice and the law in ed. Scherer, K. Justice Interdisciplinary Perspectives, p114-142Cambridge University Press: London.

Bell, J. and E, Schokkaert. (1992) Interdisciplinary Theory and Research on Justice in ed. Scherer, K. Justice Interdisciplinary Perspectives, Cambridge University Press: London 237-253.

Benn, S. and Peters, R. (1974) Social Principles and the Democratic State, Allen and Unwin: London.

Bettison, P. (2001) Analysis: look to the future. Inside Housing, 02.03.01.

Blackmore, C. and Ison, R. (1998) Boundaries for Thinking and Action in eds. Thomas, A. Chataway, J. and Wuyts, M. Finding Out Fast: Investigative Skills for Policy and Development, SAGEPublications: London 41-66.

Blom-Hansen, J. (1997) A new institutional perspective on policy networks, Public Administration 75: 669-693.

Bonnett, A. (1993) Contours of Crisis: Anti-Racism and Reflexivity, in eds. Jackson, P. and Penrose, J. Constructions of Race, Place and Nation, University College Press: London.

Bonnett, A. (1996) Constructions of 'race', place and discipline: geographies of 'racial' identity and racism, Ethnic and Racial Studies 19 (4) 865-883.

Bowling, A. (1991) Measuring Health: A review of Quality of Life Measurement Scales, Open University Press: Buckingham.

Bowring, F. (2000) Social exclusion: limitations of the debate, Critical Social Policy 64.

Boyne, G. (1991) Territorial Justice, Political Geography 10 (3) 263-281.

Boyne, G. (1993) Territorial Justice and Thatcherism, Environment and Planning C 1: 35-53.

Bradford, G. (1995) Constructing an urban deprivation index: a way of meeting the need for flexibility, Environment and Planning A 27: 519-533.

Brah, A. (1995) Difference, Diversity and Differentiation in eds. Donald, J. and Rattansi, A. Race Culture and Difference, SAGE Publications: London 126-148.

Bramley, G. and Morgan, J. (1998) Low cost home ownership initiatives in the UK, Housing Studies 13 (4) 567-586.

Brown, A. (1990) Modern Political Philosophy: Theories of a Just Society, 2nd edition Penguin: London.

Brown, A. (1990) Modern Political Philosophy: Theories of a Just Society, 2nd edition Penguin: London.

Brown, C. (1984) Black and White Britain: The Third PSI Survey, Heinemann: London.

Brown, T. (2000) Needs versus Choice in Social Housing Allocations System, Paper presented at the ENHR 2000 Conference Gavle, Sweden 26-30 June 2000. http://www.cchr.net/cchr.php?b=44#top accessed July 2002.

Brown, T. Hunt, R. and Yates, N. (2000) Lettings - A Question of Choice, Chartered Institute of Housing: Coventry.

Bryman, A. (1988) Doing Research in Organisations, Routledge: London.

Bryman, A. (2001) Social Research Methods, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

BSA British Sociological Association. (2002) Statement of Ethical Practice, www.britsoc.org.uk/about/ethic.htm accessed March 2002.

Burgess, J. (1978) Imagine and Identity, a Study of Urban and Regional Perception with a Particular Reference to Kingston upon Hull, Occasional Paper 23, University of Hull: Hull.

Burke, G. (1981) Housing and Social Justice, Longman: London.

Burney, E. (1967) Housing on Trial: A Study of Immigrants and Local Government, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Burns, D. and Hambleton, P. (1994) The Politics of Decentralisation: Revitalizing Local Democracy, Macmillan: London.

Burrows, R. (1997) Contemporary Patterns of Residential Mobility in Relation to Social Rented Housing in England, York: University of York.

Burrows, R. and Rhodes, D. (2000) Hitting the Target? Area Disadvantage, Social Exclusion and the Geography of Misery in eds. Anderson, I. and Sim, D. Social Exclusion and Housing: Context and Challenges, Chartered Institute of Housing: Coventry 58-80.

Byrne, D. McCarthy, P. Keithley, K. and Harrison, S. (1985) Race, empire and the welfare state: council housing and racism, Critical Social Policy 30: 49-72.

Campbell, T. (1990) Justice: Issues in Political Theory, 2nd edition Macmillan: London.

Carincross, L. Clapham D. and Goodlad, R. (1994) Tenant participation and tenant power in British council housing, Public Administration 72 177-200.

Carmichael, P. (1994) Analysing political choice in local government: a comparative case study approach, Public Administration 72: 241-262.

Carrey, S. and Shakur, A. (1985) A profile of the Bangladeshi community in East London, New Community 12 (3) 405-417: 49.

Carter, T. (1998) Perspectives on homelessness - characteristics, causes and solutions, Housing Studies 13 (2) 275-282.

Cattell, C. and Evans, M. (1999) Neighbourhood Images in East London, Joseph Rowntree Foundation: York.

CHAC, Central Housing Advisory Committee. (1969) Council Housing: Purposes, Procedures and Priorities, HMSO: London.

Chahal, K. (2000) Foundations: Ethnic Diversity, Neighbourhoods and Housing, Joseph Rowntree Foundation: York, http://www.jrf.org.uk accessed December 2002.

CIH, Chartered Institute of Housing. (1998) Regeneration: The Way Forward, Response to the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions, Chartered Institute of Housing: Coventry.

City Limits. (1987) Down on the Dogs, 26.11.87 November 1987.

Clapham D, and Evans A. (2000) Social Exclusion and Homelessness in eds Anderson, I. and Sim, D. Social Exclusion and Housing: Context and Challenges, p81-92 Chartered Institute of Housing: Coventry.

Clapham, D. and Franklin, B. (1994) Housing Management, Community Care and Competitive Tendering, Chartered Institute of Housing: Coventry.

Clapham, D. and Kintrea, K. (1984) Allocation systems and housing choice, Urban Studies 21 261-269.

Clapham, D. and Kintrea, K. (1986) Rationing, choice and constraint: the allocation of public housing in Glasgow, Journal of Social Policy 15 (1) 51-67.

Cloke, P. Milbourne, P. and Widdowfield, R. (2000) Change but no change: dealing with homelessness under the 1996 Housing Act, Housing Studies 15 (5) 739-756.

Cole, I. (1993) The Decentralisation of Housing Services in Malpass, P. and Means, R eds. Implementing Housing Policy, Open University Press: Buckingham.

Cole, I. and Furbey, R. (1994) The Eclipse of Council Housing, Routledge: London.

Cole, I. Iqbal, B, Slocombe, L. and Trott, T. (2001) Social Engineering or Consumer Choice: Rethinking Housing Allocation, Chartered Institute of Housing: Coventry.

Coleman, A. (1985) Utopia on Trial Vision and Reality in Planned Housing, Hilary Shipman: London.

Collard, A. (1995) Homing In: Report of the Rehoused Families Project, Tower Hamlets Health, Strategy Group: London.

Commission on Social Justice. (1994a) The Justice Gap, Institute for Public Policy Research: London.

Commission on Social Justice. (1994b) Social Justice in a Changing World, Institute for Public Policy Research: London.

Committee on local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services (1968) Government Report Cmnd. 3703 paragraph 396- cited in Burke, G. (1981) Housing and Social Justice, Longman: London.

Cooper, L. (1998) The responsible administrator: an approach to ethics for the administrative role, 4th edition CA Josses: San Francisco, cited in William, R. (2000) The responsible administrator has the ethics edge, Public Administration Review. 60 (6).

Cowen, H. and Goulborne, H. (1998) From academe to polity: tensions in conducting policy and community research, Policy Studies 19 (1) 5-17.

Cox, K. and Mair, A. (1991) From localised social structures to localities as agents, Environment and Planning A, (23) 197-213.

CRE, Commission for Racial Equality. (1984) Race and Council Housing in Hackney, CRE: London.

CRE, Commission for Racial Equality. (1985) Walsall Metropolitan Borough A Report of a Formal Investigation, CRE: London.

CRE, Commission for Racial Equality. (1988) Homelessness and Discrimination: Report of a Formal Investigation into the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, CRE: London.

CRE, Commission for Racial Equality. (1989a) Training for Racial Equality, in Housing, CRE: London.

CRE, Commission for Racial Equality. (1989b) Positive Action and Racial Equality in Housing, CRE: London.

CRE, Commission for Racial Equality. (1991a) Race Relations Code of Practice in Rented Housing, CRE: London.

CRE, Commission for Racial Equality. (1991b) Housing and Ethnic Minorities; Statistical Information, CRE: London.

CRE, Commission for Racial Equality. (1991c) Press Statement: Judicial Review against Tower Hamlets Council, CRE, 18.3.91: London.

CRE, Commission for Racial Equality. (1993) Housing Allocations in Oldham: A Report of a Formal Investigation, CRE: London.

CRE, Commission for Racial Equality. (1993) Racial Discrimination in Liverpool City Council: Report of a Formal Investigation into the Housing Department, CRE: London.

CRE, Commission for Racial Equality. (1999) Housing and Homelessness: CRE Factsheet, CRE: London.

CRE, Commission for Racial Equality. (2002) Race Relations (Amendment Act) 2000 http://www.cre.gov.uk/legaladv/law.html accessed January 2003.

Cullen, B. (1992) Philosophical Theories of Justice in ed. Scherer, K. Justice Interdisciplinary Perspectives, Cambridge University Press: London 15-64.

Cullingworth, J. (1979) Essays on Housing Policy, Allen and Unwin: London.

Curry, G. (2001) Fighting for a fair share, Inside Housing 13 July: 20-21.

Curtis, S. (1983) Intra-Urban Variation Health and Health Care Survey of Tower Hamlets and Redbridge, Volume 1 Adult morbidity and service use, Health Research Group Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, University of London.

Curtis, S. (1989) The Geography of Public Welfare Provision, Routledge: London.

Curtis, S. Rees Jones, I. (1998) Is there a place for geography in the analysis of health inequality? *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 20 (5) 645-672.

Dale A, Williams, M. and Dodgeson, B. (1996) Housing Deprivation and Social Change, Office for National Statistics (ONS): London.

Dale, A. Arber, S. and. Proctor, M. (1988) Doing Secondary Analysis, Unwin: London.

Daniel, W. (1968) Racial Discrimination in England, Penguin: Harmondsworth.

Daniel, W. (1968) Racial Discrimination in England, Penguin: Harmondsworth.

Daniels, N. ed. (1989) Reading Rawls: Critical Studies on Rawls a Theory of Justice, Standford University Press: California.

Datta, L. (1990) Case study evaluations, Washington, DC: U.S. General Accounting Office, Transfer Paper 10: 1-9 cited in Davey (1991) The application of case study evaluations, Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation 2 (9) http://ericae.net/pare/getvn.asp?v=2&n=9 accessed May 2002.

Davey, L. (1991) The application of case study evaluations, Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation 2 (9) http://ericae.net/pare/getvn.asp?v=2&n=9 accessed May 2002.

Davidson, R. (1976) Social deprivation: and analysis of intercensal change, Transactions Institute of British Geographers 1: 108-117.

Davies, A. (2002) Power, politics and networks: shaping partnership for sustainable communities, Area 34 (2) 190-203.

Davies, B. (1968) Social Needs and Resources in Local Services, Michael Joseph: London.

Davies, B. (1977) Social service studies and the explanation of policy outcomes Policy and Politics, (5) 41-59.

De Laine, M. (2000) Fieldwork Participation and Practice: Ethics and Dilemmas in Qualitative Research, chapter 2 and 6, SAGE: London.

De Vaus, D. (2002) Analysing Social Data: Fifty Key Problems in Data Analysis, SAGE: London.

Denzin, N, K. (1988) The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods, 3rd edition, Prentice Hall: Inglewood, Cliffs New Jersey.

Denzin, N. K. (1970) The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods, Aldine Publications: Chicago Illinois.

DETR, Department of Environment Transport and Regions. (1997) Mapping Local Authority Estates using the Index of Local Conditions Research Number 65, DETR: London.

DETR, Department of Environment Transport and Regions. (1998a) Index of Local Deprivation: a summary of results, Regeneration Research Summary No. 15, http://www.urban.odpm.gov.uk/research/98ild/results.htm accessed November 2002.

DETR, Department of Environment Transport and Regions. (1998b) English House Condition Survey 1996 - a summary of results DETR: London.

Dexter, L.A. (1970) Elite and Specialised Interviewing, Northwestern University Press: Evanston Illinois.

Dickens, P. (1988) One change? Social Change and the Politics of Locality, London: Pluto Press.

Diggs, B. J. ed. (1974) The state, Justice and the Common Good, Parts II and III, Scott Foreman: Glenview Illinois.

Dockland Recorder. (1989) Row on 'Racial Bias' Homes Bid - Probe urged into Tower Hamlets scheme, 22.03.89.

Docklands Forum. (1987) Experience on Canary Wharf, Docklands Forum, June 1987.

Docklands Forum. (1990) Racial harassment in the Docklands, Docklands Forum, June 1990.

DOE, Department of the Environment. (1985) Tower Hamlets Priority Estates Project, DOE: London.

Doling, J. (1997) Comparative Housing Policy: Government and Housing in Advanced Industrialised Countries, Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Doyal, L. and Gough I (1991) A Theory of Human Need, MacMillan: Basingstoke.

Drewes, S. (1995) Ethnic Representation and Racist Resentment in Local Politics: the Bangladeshi Community and Tower Hamlets Liberal Council 1986-93, Unpublished Master of Science Thesis: Queen Mary College, University of London.

DTLR, Department of Transport Local Government and the Regions. (1998) Local Authority Housing Allocations: Systems, Policies and Procedures, Housing Research Summary Number 91 http://www.housing.dtlr.gov.uk/ accessed July 2002.

DTLR, Department of Transport Local Government and the Regions. (2000) Choice Based Lettings Pilot Scheme; Bidding Guidance, http://www.housing.dtlr.gov.uk/information/cbase/bidding/ accessed November 2001.

DTLR, Department of Transport Local Government and the Regions. (2001a) Local Housing Statistics 2000/01, http://www.housing.dtlr.gov.uk/research/hss/lhs/01/index.htm accessed July 2002.

DTLR, Department of Transport Local Government and the Regions. (2001b) Quality and Choice: A Decent Home for All - Summary of Responses - The Housing Green Paper, DETR: London.

DTLR, Department of Transport Local Government and the Regions. (2001c) Changing Fortunes: Geographical Patterns of Income Deprivation in the late 1990s, Renewal Research Summary, http://www.dtlr.gov.uk accessed July 2002.

DTLR, Department of Transport Local Government and the Regions. (2002a) Housing Figures, http://www.housing.detr.gov.uk/information/keyfigures/index.htm#lettings accessed November 2002.

DTLR, Department of Transport Local Government and the Regions. (2002b) Headline Indicators: Technical Indicators in Housing H7, http://www.sustainable-developmentgov.uk/indicators/headline/technical accessed November 2002.

DTLR, Department of Transport Local Government and the Regions. (2002c) Survey of English Housing 2000/01 http://www.housing.dtlr.gov.uk

DTLR, Department of Transport Local Government and the Regions. (2002d) More than a Roof: a Report into Tackling Homelessness, DTLR: London.

Dummet, A. (1973) A Portrait of English Racism, Penguin: Harmondsworth.

Duncan, S. (1989) What is locality? in eds. Peet, R. and Thrift, N. New Models in Geography, Unwin Hyman: London 221-52.

Dunn, R. (2000) Housing and health inequalities: review and prospects for research, Housing Studies 15 (3) 341-366.

Dunsire, A. (1978) Implementation in a Bureaucracy, Martin Roberston: Oxford.

Dwelly, T. (2001) Machperson matters, Inside Housing 11.01.01.

Eade, J. (1989) The Politics of Community: the Bangladeshi Community in East London,. Gower: Aldershot.

Eade, J. (1990) Nationalism and the quest for authenticity: the Bangladeshis in Tower Hamlets, New Community 16 (4) 493-503.

East London Advertiser. (1988) Racism report 'scandal', 16.9.88.

East London Advertiser. (1989) Homes plan is racist claim. 24.03. 89.

Eastern Eye. (1993) Lambs to the slaughter, 26.10.93.

Edwards, J. (1990) What purpose does equality of opportunity serve? New Community 17 (1) 19-35.

Edwards, J. (1994) Group rights v. individual rights: the case of race-conscious policies, Journal of Social Policy 23 (1) 55-70.

Edwards, J. (1995) Social policy and the city: a review of recent policy developments and literature, Urban Studies 32 (4/5) 695-712.

Elster, J. (1992) Local Justice: How Institutions Allocate Scarce Goods and Necessary Burdens. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Elster, J. (1995) The Empirical Study of Justice in eds. Miller, D. and Walzer, M. Pluralism, Justice and Equality, Oxford University Press: Oxford 82-101.

England, K. (1994) Getting personal: reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research, Professional Geographer 46 (1) 80-89.

EU, European Union. (1961) Article 136, Treaty of the European Union: EU.

EU, European Union. (1987) Resolution on housing for the homeless, European Parliament, June 1987: EU.

EU, European Union. (1996) Resolution on the United Nations Habitat II Conference,European Parliament, May 1996: EU.

EU, European Union. (1999) Announcement of initiative for the homeless, Committee of the Regions 1999/C/293/07: EU.

EU, European Union. (2000) Building a Europe of "inclusion", European Commission, March 2000: EU.

Evandrou, M. Falkingham, J. Le Grand, J. and Winter, D. (1992) Equity in health and social care, Journal of Social Policy 21 (4) 489-523.

Evans, R. (1998) Tackling deprivation on social housing estates in England: an assessment of the housing plus approach, Housing Studies 13 (5) 713-726.

Evening Standard. (1988) 'Ethnic' bias over housing attacked, 01.09. 88.

Evening Standard. (1993) Docklands housing 14.05.93.

Eyles, J. (1979) Area Based Policies For The Inner City: Context, Problems And Prospects in eds. Herbert, T. and Smith, D. M. Social Problems and the City, Open University Press: London.

Eyles, J. (1987) The Geography of the National Health, Croom Helm: London.

FEANTSA. (2000) European Federation of National Organisations working with the Homeless. http://www.feantsa.org/key_docs/un_docs/sweden_statement_2001.pdf accessed January 2003.

Few, R. (2002) Researching actor power: analysing mechanisms of interaction in negotiations over space, Area 34 (1) 29-38.

Fitzpatrick, S. and Stephens, M. (1999) Homelessness, need and desert in the allocation of council housing, Housing Studies (14) 4 :413-432.

Ford, Janet. (2000) Employment Inequalities and Housing in eds. Anderson, I. and Sim, D. Social Exclusion and Housing: Context and Challenges, p42-57 Chartered Institute of Housing: Coventry.

Forrest, R. and D, Gordon. (1993) People and Places: a 1991 Atlas of England, School for Advance Urban Studies (SAUS) Publication: Bristol.

Forrest, R. and Kearns, A. (1999) Joined up Places? Social Cohesion and Neighbourhood Regeneration, Joseph Rowntree Foundation: York.

Forrest, R. and Murie, A. (1988) Selling the Welfare State: the Privatisation of Public Housing, Routledge: London.

Franklin, B. (2000) Demands, expectation and responses: the shaping of housing management, Housing Studies 15 (6) 907-928.

Gallant, N. Baker, M. and Wong, C. (1998) Securing housing choice: new opportunities for the UK Planning system, Housing Studies 13 (3) 425-438.

Gardiner, K. (2000) Inequalities in Income and Wealth in eds. Anderson, I. and Sim, D. Social Exclusion and Housing: Context and Challenges, p22-41 Chartered Institute of Housing: Coventry.

Gibb, K. (2002) Trends and change in social housing finance and provision with the European Union. Housing Studies 17 (2) 325-336.

Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967) The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research, Aldine Publishing: Chicago Illinois.

Glendinning, M. and Muthesius, S. (1994) Tower Blocks: Modern Public Housing in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press: New Haven.

Goering, J. (1992) Race and public housing n Britain and the United States: notes for a policy relevant research agenda, New Community 18 (3) 457-462.

Goodlad, R. and Gibb, K. (1994) Housing and Social Justice, Commission on Social Justice Issue Paper 9, Institute for Public Policy Research: London.

Gosling, D. (1991) Obligations of Affluent Nations to the Poor in the situations of Radical Inequality in ed. Twining, W, Issues of Self-Determination, p49-70 Aberdeen University Press: Aberdeen.

Graham, E. (1997) Philosophies Underlying Human Geography Research in Flowerdew, R. and Martin, D. eds. Methods in Human Geography, Longman: London.

Gray, F. (1976) Selection and allocation in council housing. Transactions Institute of British Geographers 1: 34-46.

Green, H. and Hansbro, J. (1995) Housing in England 1993-1994, Office of Population and Census Surveys (OPCS): London.

Greenberg, J. (2001) Response: setting the justice agenda: seven unanswered questions about "what, why and how", Journal of Vocational Behaviour 58: 210-219.

Gregson, N. (1987) Locality Research: a case for conceptual duplication, Discussion Paper Number 86, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies Centre: University of Newcastle upon Tyne.

Groves, R. and Niner, P. (1987) Homelessness: A report to the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Unpublished report, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies: University of Birmingham.

Grub, S. (1987) Race and Housing: A Note on the Role of the Commission for Racial Equality in eds. Smith, S. and Mercer, J. New Perspectives on Race and Housing in Britain, p107 -123 Studies in Housing 2, Centre for Housing Research: Glasgow University.

Gunn, L. (1978) Why is implementation so difficult? Management Services in Government, November 1978.

Gustav, V. (2001) Social justice, integrated development planning and post-apartheid urban reconstruction, Urban Studies 38 (10) 1673-1699.

Hakim, C. (1982) Secondary Analysis in Social Research, Allen and Unwin: London.

Hakim, C. (1987) Research Design: Strategies and Choices in the Design of Social Research, Allen and Unwin: London.

Hall, S. (1995) New Ethnicities in eds. Donald, J. and Rattansi, A. Race Culture and Difference, SAGE Publications: London 252-259.

Ham, C. and Hill, M. (1984) The Policy Process in the Modern Capitalist State, Harvester Wheatsheaf: London.

Hamnett, C. (2001) London's housing, Area 33 :80 -83.

Hamnett, C. and Randolph, B. (1987) The Residualisation of Council Housing in Inner London 1971-1981 in Clapham D and English J. eds. Public Housing: Current Trends and Future Developments, Croom Helm: London.

Harriot, S. and Matthews, L. (1998) Social Housing: An Introduction, p21-50 Longman: London.

Harris, C. (2001) Beyond multiculturalism: difference, recognition and social justice, Patterns of Prejudice 35 :13-33.

Harvey, D. (1973) Social Justice and the City, Blackwell: Oxford.

Harvey, D. (1989) The Condition of Post-Modernity. Blackwell: Oxford

Harvey, D. (1993) Class Relations, Social Justice and the Politics of Difference in eds. Keith, M. and Pile, S. Place and the Politics of Identity, p41-66 Routledge: London.

Harvey, D. (1996) Justice Nature and the Geography of Difference, Blackwell: Oxford.

Henderson, J. and Karn, V. (1984) Race, class and the allocation of public housing in Britain, Urban Studies (21) 115-128.

Herbert, D. and Thomas, C. (1990) Cities in Space: City as Space, David Fulton: London.

Hewitt, G. and Adams, M. (1994) Tower Hamlets: The Race for Power An Investigation into the Racist Housing Policies of the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Race for Power: London.

Hodder, I. (1994) The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture in eds. Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. Handbook of Qualitative Research p703-715, SAGE Publications: London.

Hogwood, B. and Gunn, L. (1984) Policy Analysis for the Real World, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Hoinville, G. and Jowell, R. (1985) Survey Research in Practice, Gower: London.

Hollanby, T. (1990) Dockland London backyard into front yard, Docklands Forum: London.

Holland, R. (1999) Reflexivity, Human Relations 52 (4) 463-484.

Holmes, C. (2000) Caught before they fall: the Homes Bill, Inside Housing 12.01.01.

Home Affairs Committee, House of Commons. (1986) Bangladeshi in Britain. First Report, Session 1986-87, Hansard: House of Commons.

Home Affairs Committee, House of Commons. (1987) Bangladeshi in Britain: The Governments reply to the first Report from the Home Affairs Committee, Session 1986-87, Hansard: House of Commons.

Housing Association Weekly (1989) CRE report confirms Liverpool council discriminated in referrals to associations, 02. 06.89.

Housing Corporation. (2001) Black and Minority Ethnic Communities, Key Data. Sector Study 11. Housing Corporation: London.

Huby, M. and Walker, R. (1991) The social fund and territorial justice, Policy and Politics 19 (2) 87-98.

Husband, C. (1987) British Racism: the Construction of Racial Ideologies, Hutchinson: London.

Hyndman, S. (1990) Housing and Health Amongst British Bengalis in Tower Hamlets, Research Paper 3, Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, University of London.

Imrie, R. and Raco, M. (1999) How new is the new local governance? Lessons from the United Kingdom, Transactions New Series 24 (1) 45-64.

Inside Housing. (1988) Tower Hamlets LBC warned to change discriminatory housing polices, Inside Housing 02.09.88.

Inside Housing. (1989) Staff resist family lettings scheme, 14 .04.89.

Inside Housing. (1993) Office move could put homeless at risk date CRE warns, 8.11.93

Inside Housing. (2000a) Sector still 'riddled with racism, 25.02.00.

Inside Housing. (2000b) Minorities ignored by mainstream social landlords, 21 7.00.

Inside Housing. (2000c) Home Office pushes for race strategies, 28.08.00.

Isaac, T. (1997) Cultural context and moral responsibility, Journal of Ethics 4 :670-684.

Jackson, P. (1987) Race and Racism: Essays in Social Geography, Allen and Unwin: London.

Jackson, P. (1991) Mapping meanings: a cultural critique of locality studies Environment and Planning A 23 (2) 257-266.

Jackson, P. and Penrose, J. eds. (1993) Constructions of Race, Place and Nation, 1-p26, 202 -11 University College London Press: London.

Jacobs, L A. (1993) Rights and Deprivation, Clarendon Press: Oxford.

Jacobs, S. (1985) Race, empire and the welfare state: Council housing and racism, Critical Social Policy 30: 6-28.

Jarman, B. (1983) Identification of underprivileged areas, British Medical Journal 286: 1705-1709.

Jary, D. and Jary, J. (1999) The Unwin Hyman Dictionary of Sociology, Harper Collins: Glasgow.

Jensen, J. and Rodgers, R. (2001) Cumulating the intellectual gold of case study research, Public Administration Review 61 (2) 236-246.

Johnson, M. R. (1987) Housing as a Process of Racial Discrimination eds. Smith, S and Mercer, J. New Perspectives on Race and Housing in Britain, p159-181 Studies in Housing 2, Glasgow: Centre for Housing Research Glasgow University.

Johnston, R. (1976) Areal studies, ecological studies, and social patterns in cities, Transactions Institute of British Geographers 1: 118-122.

Johnston, R. Gregory, D. Pratt, and G. Watts, M. (2000) Dictionary of Human Geography 4th edition, Blackwell: Oxford.

Johnston, R. J. (1991) A Question of Place: Exploring the Practice of Human Geography, Blackwell: Oxford.

Jonas, A. (1988) A new regional geography of localities? Area 20 (2) 101-110.

Jones, C. (1993) Population Change in London 1981-1991, London Research Centre: London.

Jordan, W. (1987) First Impressions: Initial English Confrontations with Africans in ed. Husband, C. Race in Britain, Hutchinson: London 42- 58.

Karn, V. (1984) Race and Housing in Britain; the role of major Institutions, in eds. Glazer, N. and Young, K. Ethnic Pluralism and Public Policy: Achieving Equality in the United States and Britain, Heinemann: London 162-83.

Kearns, A. Hiscock, R. Ellaway, Anne and Macintyre, S. (2000) 'Beyond four walls' the psycho social benefit of home: evidence from West Central Scotland Housing Studies 15 (3) 387-410

Kearns, R. and Smith, C. J. (1993) Housing stressors and mental health among marginalised urban populations, Area 25 (3) 267-278.

Keenan, P. Lowe, S. and Spencer. S. (1999) Housing abandonment in inner cities - the politics of low demand for housing, Housing Studies 14 (5) 703-717.

Keith, M. and Pile, S. eds. (1993) Place and the Politics of Identity, Routledge: London.

Kekes, J. (1997) A question for egalitarians, Journal of Ethics 107 (4) 658-669.

Kellar, L. Peace, S, Weaver. and Wilcocks, D. eds. (1990) "Triangulating data" in Peace, S. Researching Social Gerontology: Concepts Methods and Issues, SAGE: London 112 - 131.

King, P. (1998) Housing, Individuals and the State, Routledge: London.

King, P. (2000) Can we use rights to justify housing provision? Housing Theory and Society 17, (1) 27-34.

Kleineman, C. (1990) The Future Provision of Social Housing in Britain in eds. Van Vliet, W. and Van Weesep, J. Government and Housing: Development in Seven Countries, Urban Affairs annual reviews, SAGE: London 84-96.

Kleineman, M. (2000) Include me out? The new politics of place and poverty, Policy Studies 21 (1) 49-62.

Kline, R. and Carter, N. (1988) Performance Measurement: A review of concepts and issues, Discussion Paper 18, Public Finance Foundation: London.

Knight, I. (1994) Measuring customer satisfaction, Survey Methodology Bulletin Number 35. OPCS, Social Survey Division: London.

Knox, P. (1987) Urban Social Geography, 2nd edition Longman: London.

Kukathas, C. and Pettit, P. (1990) Rawls: A Theory of Justice and its Critics, Polity Press: Cambridge.

Kymlicka, W. ed. (1992) Justice in Political Philosophy Part II, Edward Elgar: Cheltenham.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Bow SNC. (1990) Ethnic Monitoring in Housing, LBTH Committee 22.06.90: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Bow SNC. (1993) Research Survey into the Operation of the Sons and Daughters Housing Scheme, LBTH Committee 28.01.93: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Consultancy Services. (1994) An Investigation of the Opinions of Council Tenants and Leaseholders on Housing Services in the Isle of Dogs, LBTH Committee: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Corporate Policy. (1993) Census of Population: Topic Report Number 1, LBTH: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, D Team. (1986) News from the Decentralisation Team, LBTH Committee September: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Decentralisation. (1986) Decentralisation - Outline Structures, LBTH Committee 04.04.86: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Homelessness Board. (1992) Progress and Action taken to Comply with the Non-Discrimination Notice, LBTH Committee 11.09.92: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing and Corporate. (1992a) Report of Quality of Housing: Interim Report of Principal Monitoring Officer, LBTH: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing and Corporate. (1992b) The Quality of Accommodation Offered and Accepted in Bow Neighbourhood between 01.04.89 and 31.2.92, LBTH Committee London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing and Corporate. (1993) The Quarterly Ethnic Monitoring Reports, Covering the Period 1 April 1989 to 31 March 1993, LBTH Committee London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Services. (1994) Tower Hamlets Allocation Policy for Determining Priority on the Housing Transfer and Waiting List, Revised June 1995, LBTH Committee: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Services. (1995) Decant Policy for Transfer Tenants, Housing Directorate, LBTH Committee: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Services. (1995) Monitoring Reports of Allocations 1993/1994 and 1994/1995, LBTH Committee 01.11.95: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Services. (1996) Coventry Cross East Economics and Housing Regeneration Initiative, LBTH Committee 31.01.96: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Services. (1996b) Ethnic Monitoring of Allocations 1994/95 1995/6, LBTH Committee 29.05.96: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Services. (1997) Ethnic Monitoring of London Borough of Tower Hamlets Allocations: April 1996 - March 1997, LBTH Committee 30.08.96: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Services. (1997b) Tower Hamlets Allocation Policy for Determining Priority on the Housing Transfer and Waiting List, Revised October 1997, 2nd Revision 1998, LBTH Committee: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Services. (1998) Ethnic Monitoring of Allocations April - September 1997. LBTH Committee 03.02.98: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Services. (1999) Ethnic Monitoring of Allocations, LBTH Committee 03.02.91: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Strategy. (1989) History Notes on CRE Notice, Officers personal notes: LBTH Committee: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Strategy. (1994) Housing Investment Programme Bid 1995 to 1996, LBTH Committee: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Strategy. (1996) Housing Strategy and HIP Bid 1997/8, LBTH Committee: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Strategy. (1997) HIP Submission 1998 to 1999, LBTH Committee: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Strategy. (1998) Housing Strategy Statement 1999 to 2000, LBTH Committee: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Strategy. (1999) Housing Strategy Statement 1999/2000 to 2001/02, LBTH Committee: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Sub Committee. (1986a) Amended Lettings for Homeless LBTH Committee 16.06.86: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Sub Committee. (1986b) Proposal for a Sons and Daughters Scheme: for Districts/Neighbourhoods, LBTH Committee 08.08.86: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Sub Committee. (1986c) Procedure for Reporting and Dealing with Cases of Racial and Sexual Harassment, LBTH Committee 13.08.86: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Sub Committee. (1986d) Pilot Localised Lettings Scheme for District Five, LBTH Committee 08.09.86: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Housing Sub Committee. (1986e) The Immediate Decentralisation of Lettings to Districts/Neighbourhoods, LBTH Committee 13.10.86: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Isle of Dogs. (1993a) Preliminary Report: Tenant Opinion Survey of Tenants on the Isle of Dogs, LBTH Committee: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Isle of Dogs. (1993b) Isle of Dogs Housing Allocations 1989-1994, cited in Hewett, G, and Adams, M. (1994) Tower Hamlets: The Race for Power, Section 5 London: Race for Power.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Isle of Dogs. (1993c) Millwall Bulletin, Isle of Dogs Neighbourhood, LBTH July: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Management Board. (1992) Compliance with the Non Discrimination Notice, LBTH Committee 10.11.92: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Performance Review. (1993a) Lettings Policy and Allocations to the Homeless, LBTH Committee 21.09.93: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Performance Review. (1993b) Targets and Incentives, LBTH Committee 27.10.93: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Planning. (1984) A Profile of Tower Hamlets: Inner Area Programme Statement of Need 1984/85, LBTH Committee: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Policy and Equality. (1996) Profiling Poverty in Tower Hamlets, LBTH Committee: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Policy and Resources. (1987) CRE Formal Investigation in Tower Hamlets Council Housing Services between 1984 and 1985, LBTH Committee 19.10.87: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Policy and Resources. (1991) Regina v LBTH ex parte 29.9.87 Judicial Review Proceedings, LBTH Committee 15.03.91: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Policy Strategy. (1992a) Appraisal and Recommendations of Allocation Review, LBTH Committee 24.03.92: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Policy Strategy. (1992b) Inter-Neighbourhood Housing - Local Ombudsman Report, LBTH Committee 08.09.92: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Policy Strategy. (1992c) Compliance with the Non-Discrimination Notice, LBTH Committee November: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Policy Strategy. (1992d) Research Survey in the Operation Sons and Daughter Housing, LBTH Committee 24.11.92: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Policy Strategy. (1993) Post Survey Evaluation: Response to the Research Survey into the Sons and Daughter Housing Scheme, Unpublished Consultants Report LBTH: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets. (1988a) Letter from Tower Hamlets Council to Commission of Racial Equality, LBTH 24.07.88: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets. (1988b) Letter from Commission of Racial Equality to Tower Hamlets Council, LBTH 20.08.88: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets. (1991) Court Action by CRE, Press Statement Tower Hamlets Council, LBTH 18.03.91: London.

LBTH, London Borough of Tower Hamlets. Neighbourhood Renewal. (2001) Neighbourhood Renewal: Ward Data Report, http://www.towerhamlets.gov.uk/templates/siteSearch/search.cfm accessed November 2002.

LDDC, London Docklands Development Corporation. (1990) The Corporate Plan, 1991 - 1992, LDDC: London.

Le Grand, J. (1982) The Strategy of Equality, Redistribution and the Social Services, Allen and Unwin: London.

Le Grand, J. (1991) Equity and Choice: an Essay in Economics and Applied Philosophy, Harper Collins: London.

Leather, P. and Murie, A. (1989) A housing strategy: changes in the role of local authorities, Municipal Journal 21 July 1988.

Lee, P. (1998) Housing Policy, Citizenship and Social Exclusion in eds. Marsh, A. and Mullins, D. Housing and Public Policy, Open University Press: Buckingham.

Lee, P. and Murie, A. (1999) Spatial and social division within British cities: beyond residualisation, Housing Studies 14 (5) 625-640.

Legal Action. (1993) Housing official granted immigration licence, cited in The Runnymede Bulletin, June 1991: London.

Levitas, R. (1998) The Inclusive Society? Social Exclusion and New Labour, Macmillan: London.

LGA, Local Government Association. (2000) Vision into Reality: Task Group, Local Government Association: London.

LGO Local Government Ombudsman. (2002) The work of the Local Government Ombudsman Local Government Ombudsman www.lgo.org.uk/ accessed November 2002.

LHU, London Housing Unit. (2000) Supply and Demand for Council Housing in London 1998/99, http://www.lhu.org.uk/docs/159Supply_and_demand_99.pdf accessed July 2002.

LHU, London Housing Unit. (2002) History of Social Housing, accessed July 2002 http://www.lhu.org.uk/ history.asp.

Liberal Democrats. (1984) What Next: Tower Hamlets Liberal Party Manifesto, Tower Hamlets Liberal Party: London.

Liberal Democrats. (1986) Power to the Hamlets: Tower Hamlets Liberal Party Manifesto, Tower Hamlets Liberal Party: London.

Liberal Democrats. (1993) Tower Hamlets Inquiry: Political Speech and Race Relations in a Liberal Democracy, Liberal Democrat Party: London.

Lincoln, J. (1977) Organisational Dominance and Community Structure in eds. Liebert, A and Imershein A. Power Paradigms and Community Research, p19-49 SAGE: London.

Lipsky, M. (1980) Street-Level Bureaucracy, Russell SAGE: New York.

Local Government Chronicle. (1987) Decentralisation in Islington, 16.01.87.

Loftman, P. Middeleton, A. and Nevin, B. (1994) Inter-city Competition, Place and Social Justice, Research Papers Series Number 13, Faculty of the Built Environment: University of Central England.

Long, D. (2000) Estate-based regeneration in England: lessons from Housing Action Trusts, Housing Studies 15 (2) 301-317.

Lowe, J. (1992) An Analysis of the Workings of Tower Hamlets Decentralised Governance Structure, Unpublished research report: London Borough of Tower Hamlets.

Lowery, D. Hoogland, R. and Lyons, E. (1992) Citizenship in the empowered locality, Urban Affairs Quarterly 28 (1) 69-103.

Lowndes, V. (1992) Decentralisation: the potential and the pitfalls, Local Government Policy Making 18 (4) 30 - 35.

Lowry, S. (1991) Housing and Health, London: British Medical Journal.

LRC, London Research Centre. (1992) Homeless in London, Bulletin 1. Winter London: London Research Centre.

LRC, London Research Centre. (1993a) London Housing Survey 1992: First Findings, London Research Centre: London.

LRC, London Research Centre. (1993b) London Overview: Preliminary Analysis of 1991 Census Results, London Research Centre: London.

LRC, London Research Centre. (1995) London 95, London Research Centre: London.

Lucas, J. (1980) On Justice, Clarendon Press: Oxford.

MacEwen, M. (1990) Homelessness, race and law, New Community 16 (4) 505-521.

MacEwen, M. (1994) Anti-discrimination law in Great Britain, New Community 20 (3) 353-370.

Macpherson, W. (1999) The Lawrence Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny, Cmd 4262-I. The Stationery Office: London.

Malpass, P. and Means, R. eds. (1993) Implementing Housing Policy, Open University Press: Buckingham.

Malpass, P. and Murie, A. (1994) Housing Policy and Practice, Macmillan: London.

Malpass, P. ed. (1986) The Housing Crisis, Croom Helm: London.

Marcuse, P. (1993) What so new about divided cities? National Journal of Urban and Regional Research 17 (3) 358-364.

Marsh, A. (1998) Processes of Changes in Housing and Public Policy in eds. Marsh, A. and Mullins, D. Housing and Public Policy, Open University Press: Buckingham.

Marsh, A. and Mullins, D. (1998) The social exclusion perspectives and housing studies; origins applications and limitations, Housing Studies 13 (6) 749-760.

Marsh, A. Gordon, D. Heslop, P. and Pantazis, C. (2000) Housing deprivation and health: a longitudinal analysis, Housing Studies 15 (3) 411-428.

Martin, S. and Sanderson, B. (1999) Evaluating public policy experiments: measuring outcomes, monitoring process or managing pilots, Evaluation 5 (3): 245-258.

Mason, D. (1982) After Scarman: a note on the concept of institutional racism, New Community 10 (1) 30-37.

Massey, D. (1984) Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production, Macmillan: London.

Massey, D. (1991) The political place of locality studies, Environment and Planning A, 23: 267-81.

McKerlie, D. (1996) Equality, Journal of Ethics 2: 274-296.

Means, R. (1993) Perspectives on Implementation, in eds. Malpass, P. and Means, R. Implementing Housing Policy, p4-21 Open University Press: Buckingham.

Miles, R. (1993) Racism after 'race relations', Routledge: London 54-79.

Miles, R. and Solomos, J. (1987) Migration and the State in Britain: a Historical Overview, in ed. Husband, C. Race in Britain, Hutchinson: London: 75 - 110.

Miller, D. (1976) Social Justice, Clarendon Press: Oxford.

Mitlin, D. (2001) Housing and urban poverty: a consideration of the criteria of affordability, diversity and inclusion, Housing Studies 16 (4) 509-522.

Modood, T. (1994) Racial Equality: Colour, Culture and Justice, Institute of Public Policy Research: London.

Modood, T. Berthoud, R. Lakey, J. Nazroo, J. and Smith, P. (1997) Ethnic Minorities in Britain: Diversity and Disadvantages, Policy Studies Institute: London.

Moon, G. (1990) Conceptions of space and community in British health policy, Social Science and Medicine 30 (1) 165-171.

Moore, R. (1994) Crisis and compliance: the Liverpool Non Discrimination Notice 1989-1994, New Community 20 (4) 581-602.

MORI. (1990) Tower Hamlets Residents' Attitudes Survey, MORI: London.

Morphet, C. (1992) The interpretation of small area census data, Area 24: 63-72.

Morphet, J. (1987) Local authority decentralisation - Tower Hamlets goes all the way, Policy and Politics 15 (2) 119-126 ..

Municipal Journal. (1987d) Neighbourhood watch for Tower Hamlets, Municipal Journal 20.2.87: 298-300.

Municipal Journal. (1987b) Testing the water: Southampton's experiment in handing more power to the local neighbourhood groups, Municipal Journal 29.5.87: 12.

Murdoch, J. (2000) Space time: competing rationalities in planning for housing, Transactions Institute of British Geographers 25 (4) 503-520.

Murshid, K. (1994) Reversing a racist agenda: community experience and community politics in Tower Hamlets, Regenerating Cities 6 :20-21.

Nanton, M. (1989) The new orthodoxy: racial categories and equal opportunity policy, New Community 15 (4) 549-564.

Nanton, M. (1994) Official Statistics and problems of inappropriate ethnic categorisation, Policy and Politics 20 (4) 277-285.

NFHA, National Federation of Housing Association NFHA. (1989) Partners in Meeting Housing Need, NFHA: London.

Niner, P. (1975) Local Authority Housing Policy and Practice, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, Occasional Paper 31: University of Birmingham.

Odera-Oruka, H. (1980) Rawls' ideological affinity and justice as egalitarian fairness, in ed. Ericsson, L. Justice: Social and Global Conference Papers Stockholm International Symposium on Justice September 1978, Filosfiska: Stockholm.

O'Donnell, M. (1991) Race and Ethnicity, Longman: London 3-18, 90-103.

ODPM, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. (2002a) What is neighbourhood renewal? Fact sheet number 1, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister: Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/ accessed January 2003.

ODPM, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. (2002b) New Deal for communities? Fact sheet number 9, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister: Neighbourhood Renewal Unit, http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk accessed January 2003.

ODPM, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. (2002c) Council Housing Information, http://www.housing.detr.gov.uk accessed November 2002.

ODPM, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. (2002d) Housing Quality Indicators, Housing Research Summary Number 94. Office of the Deputy Prime Minister http://www.urban.odpm.gov.uk/research/98ild/results.htm accessed November 2002.

ODPM, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. (2003) The Homelessness Bill 2001, Housing Factsheet Number 8. Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, http://www.housing.odpm.gov.uk/factsheet/bill accessed January 2003.

Outlaw, L. (1992) Toward a Critical Theory of 'Race' in ed. Goldberg, D. Anatomy of Racism, Oxford: University of Minnesota.

Pacione, M. (1990) Urban Problems, Routledge: London.

Page, D. (2002) Communities in the Balance: The Reality of Social Exclusion, Joseph Rowntree Foundation: York.

Pahl, R. (1979) Socio-Political factors in resource allocation, in eds. Herbert T and Smith D. Social Problems and the City, Open University Press: London.

Papps, O. and Smith, R. (2000) Developments in Housing Management in eds Anderson, I. and Sim, D. Social Exclusion and Housing: Context and Challenges, Chartered Institute of Housing: Coventry 191-206.

Parker, J. and Dugmore, K. (1976) Colour and the allocation of GLC housing, GLC Research Report 21: London.

Parsons, W. (1995) Public Policy: an Introduction to the Theory and Practice of Policy Analysis, Edward Elgar: Aldershot.

Pawlowski, M. (1998) Legal Studies Property and Housing Law, in Balchin, P. and Rhoden, M. Housing the Essential Foundations, Routledge: London 229-260.

Pawson, H. (2000) Understanding recent trends in residential mobility in council housing in England, Urban Studies 37 (8) 1231-1250.

Pawson, H. and Bramley, G. (2000) Understanding recent trends in residential mobility in council housing in England, Urban Studies 37 (8) 1231-1259.

Payne, G. Payne, J and Hyde, M. (1996) Refuse of all Classes? Social indictors and social deprivation, Sociological Research Online 1 (1). http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/1/1/3.htm accessed July 2002.

Peabody Trust. (2002) A History of the Trust, http://www.peabody.org.uk/ accessed May 2002.

Peach, C. (1998) South Asian and Caribbean ethnic minority housing choice in Britain, Urban Studies 35 (10) 1657-1680.

Peach, C. and Byron, M. (1994) Council house sales, residualisation and Afro Caribbean tenants, Journal of Social Policy 23 (3) 363-383.

Pereira, J. (1993) What does equity in health mean? Journal of Social Policy 22 (1) 21-48.

Perrons, D. and Syers, S. (2001) Challenging Injustice through Status Recognition: Conceptual Exploration and a Case of the Shoreditch New Deal Partnership, Environmental and Spatial Analysis Research Papers number 66, London School of Economics: London.

Pettit, P. (1980) Judging Justice, Routledge and Kegan: London.

Phillips, D. (1986) What price equality? GLC Housing Research and Policy Report Number 9: London.

Phillips, D. (1987) The institutionalisation of Racism in Housing: Towards an Explanation, in eds. Smith, S. and Mercer, J. New Perspectives on Race and Housing in Britain, Studies in Housing 2, Glasgow: Centre for Housing Research Glasgow University 124-158.

Phillips, D. (1988) Race and housing in London's East End: continuity and change, New Community 14 (3) 356-369.

Phillips, D. (1998) Black Minority Ethnic concentration, segregation and dispersal in Britain, Urban Studies 35 (10) 1702-1998.

Pickstock, A. (1987) Power to the people Public Services, Local Government April 1987: 24-25.

Pickvance, C. (1990) The Institutional context of Local Economic Development in eds. Harloe, M. Pickvance, C. and Urry, J. Place, Policy and Politics: do localities matter? p5-25 Unwin Hyman: London.

Pinch, S. (1979) Territorial Justice in the City in eds. Herbert, T. and Smith, D. M. Social Problems and the City, Open University Press: London.

Pinch, S. (1984) Inequality in Pre-School provisions: Geographical Perspectives, in eds. Kirby, A. Knox, A. and Pinch, S. Public Service Provision and Urban Development, Croom Helm: Andover.

Pinch, S. (1985) Cities and Services: The Geography of Collective Consumption, Routledge and Kegan Paul: London.

Pirie, G. (1983) On Spatial Justice, Environment and Planning A (15) 465-473.

Pleace, N. and Quilgar, D. (1996) Health and Homelessness in London: A Review, Kings Fund: London 2 - 58 136-7.

Popay J, and Williams, G. eds. (1994) Researching the People's Health, Routledge: London.

Power, A. (1988) The Crisis in Council Housing: Is Public Housing Manageable, Welfare State Programme number 21, Suntory Toyota International Centre for Economics and Related Disciplines.

Power, A. (1993) Hovels to High Rise: State Housing in Europe since 1850, Routledge: London.

Power, A. (1999) Estates on the Edge: the Social Consequences of Mass Housing in Northern Europe, Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Power, A. and Tunstall, R. (1995) Swimming Against the Tide: Progress or polarisation on 20 Unpopular Estates by, Joseph Rowntree Foundation: York.

Power, A. and Tunstall, R. (1997) Dangerous Disorder: Riots and Violent Disturbances in Thirteen Areas of Britain, 1991-1992, Joseph Rowntree Foundation: York.

Power, A. and Wilson, W. (2000) Social Exclusion and the Future of Cities, Case Paper 35, Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics: London.

Pratt, A. (1991) Discourses of locality, Environment and Planning A. 23 (2) 257-266.

PSI, Policy Studies Institute. (1988) Polarisation and Social Housing, p39-54 PSI Report 667: London.

Ratcliffe, P. (1998) 'Race' housing and social exclusion, Housing Studies 13: 807-818.

Rawls, J. (1972) A Theory of Justice, Oxford University Press: New York.

Rawls, J. (1992) Justice as Fairness: Political not Metaphysical, in eds. Avineri, S and de- Shalit, A. Communtaranism and Individualism, p186-204 Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Rawls, J. (2001) Justice as Fairness: A Restatement, in ed. Kelly, E. Harvard University Press: Cambridge Massachusetts.

Reeves, P. (1996) An Introduction to Social Housing, Arnold: London.

Regan, S. (2000a) The long and winding road, Inside Housing, 04.02.00: 14-15.

Regan, S. (2000b) Social Housing in the 21st Century - Your Views, Institute for Public Policy Research: London.

Rex, J. and Moore, R. (1967) Race, Community and Conflict, Oxford University Press: Oxford

Rhodes, R. and Marsh, D. (1992a) Policy Networks in British Politics in ed. Rhodes, R. and Marsh, D. Policy Networks in British Government, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Rhodes, R. and Marsh, D. (1992b) New directions in the study of policy networks, European Journal of Political Research 21 :181-205.

Robertson, D. and Mclaughlin, P. (1996) Looking into Housing: A Practical Guide to Housing Research, Coventry: Chartered Institute of Housing.

Robinson, D. (1998) Health selection in the housing system: access to council housing for homeless people with health problems, Housing Studies 13 (1) 23-41.

Robinson, G. (1998) Methods and Techniques in Human Geography, John Wiley and Sons: Chicester .

Roche, C. (1998) Organizational Assessment and Institutional Footprints in eds. Thomas, A. Chataway, J. and Wuyts, M. (1998). Finding Out Fast: Investigative Skills for Policy and Development, p173-200 SAGE Publications: London.

Rohan P. (2001) Analysis: rights to know, Inside Housing 05.01.01 :12-17.

Rose, G. (1997) Situating knowledges: postionality, reflexivities and other tactics, Progress in Human Geography 213 (3) 305-320.

Rosenbaum, J. Reynolds, L. Reynolds and Deluca, S. (2002) How do places matter? The geography of opportunity, self-efficacy and a look inside the black box of residential mobility, Housing Studies 17 (1) 71-82.

Runnymede Trust. (1975) Race and Council Housing in London, Runnymede Trust: London.

Runnymede Trust. (1991) Housing news: housing official granted immigration licence, The Runnymede Bulletin June 1991.

Runnymede Trust. (1993) Neither Unique nor Typical: Issues of Ethnicity and Politics in the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, Interim Report, Runnymede Trust: London.

Ryan, A. ed. (1993) Justice, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Sabatier, P. (1985) Top down and bottom-up approaches to implementation research: a critical analysis and suggested synthesis, Journal Public Policy 6 (1) 21-48.

Sabatier, P. and Mazmanian, D. (1973) The conditions of effective implementation: a guide to accomplishing policy objectives, Policy Analysis 5: 481-504.

Sack, R. (1997) Homo Geographicus: A Framework for Action, Awareness, and Moral Concern, Johns Hopkins University Press: London.

Sampson, A. and Phillips C. (1995) Reducing Repeat Racial Victimisation on an East London Estate, Police Research Group Crime Detection and Prevention Series 67: Home Office: London.

Sanderson, B. (2000) Evaluation in complex policy systems, Evaluation 6 (4): 433-454.

Satsangi, M. and Kearns, A. (1992) The use of and interpretation of tenant satisfaction surveys in British social housing, Environment and Planning C 10 :317-331.

Sayer, A. (1991) Behind the locality debate: deconstructing geography's dualism Environment and Planning A. 23 (2) 283-308.

Scarman Report. (1981) The Brixton Disorder 10-12 April 1981, HMSO: London.

Scherer, K. ed. (1992) Justice Interdisciplinary Perspectives, Cambridge University Press: London.

Scott D. ed. (1976) Measures of Citizen Evaluation of Local Government Services in Clark T. Citizen Preferences and Urban Public Policy Models, Measures and Uses, SAGE: California.

Scruton, R. (1982) Dictionary of Political Thought, Macmillan: London.

Sen, A. (1992) Inequality Re-examined, Clarendon Press: Oxford.

SEU Social Exclusion Unit. (1998) A National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal: a Framework for Consultation, Cm 405, Stationery Office: London.

Shafer-Landau, R. (1997) Moral rules, Journal of Ethics 107 :584-611

Shavelson, R. McDonnell, L and Oakes, J. (1991) Steps in designing an indicator system, Practical Assessment, Reserch and Evaluation 2 (12). http://ericae.net/para/getvn.asp?v=2&n=12 accessed May 2002.

Shivi, I. (1991) The Rights of people to Self-Determination: an African Perspective of Inequality in Twining, W. Issues of Self-Determination, p33-48 Aberdeen University Press: Aberdeen.

Shklar, J. (1990) The Faces of Injustice, Yale University Press: New Haven Massachusetts.

Short, J. R. (1983) Housing in Britain: the Post-War Experience, Methuen: London.

SHPRS, Spitalfields Housing and Planning Rights Service. (1982) Bengalis and GLC Housing Allocation in E.1, SHPRS: 192 Hanbury St, London.

SHPRS, Spitalfields Housing and Planning Rights Service. (1984) Bengalis and GLC Housing Allocation in E.1: An update March 1984, SHPRS: 192 Hanbury St, London.

Sieber, S. D. (1973) The Integration of Fieldwork and Survey Methods in Denzin, K. Sociological Methods Butterworths. London.

Sim, D. (2000) Housing Inequalities and Minority Ethnic Groups in eds. Anderson, I. and Sim, D. Social Exclusion and Housing: Context and Challenges, p93-107 Chartered Institute of Housing: Coventry.

Sivanandan, A. (1982) A Different Hunger: Writing a Black Resistance, Pluto Press: London.

Sivanandan, A. (1983) Challenging racism strategies for the '80s, Race and Class 25 (2) 1-11.

Skellington, R. (1981) How blacks lose out in council housing, New Society 29 January 1981.

Smith, D. J. (1977) Racial Disadvantage in Britain: The PEP Report, Penguin: Harmondsworth.

Smith, D. M. (1977a) Human Geography a Welfare Approach, Edward Arnold: London.

Smith, D. M. (1987) Geography, Inequality and Society, University Press: Cambridge.

Smith, D. M. (1992) Geography and social justice: some reflections on social change in Eastern Europe, Geography Research Forum (12) 128-147.

Smith, D. M. (1994) Geography and Social Justice, Blackwell: Oxford.

Smith, D. M. (1998) Geography and moral philosophy, Ethics, Place and Environment (1) 1 7-34.

Smith, D. M. (2000a) Moral Geographies: Ethics in a World of Difference, Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh.

Smith, D. M. (2000b) Moral progress in human geography: transcending the place of good fortune, Progress in Human Geography 24: 1-8.

Smith, D. M. (2000c) Social justice revisited, Environment and Planning A 32: 1149-1162.

Smith, D. M. (2001) Geography and ethics: progress, or more of the same? Progress in Human Geography 25: 261-268.

Smith, G. (1999) Area Based Initiatives, the Rationale and Options for Area Targeting, Case Paper 25, Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics, http://sticerd.las.ac.uk/case/ accessed November 2002.

Smith, S. J. (1989) Politics of Race and Residence: Citizenship, Segregation and White Supremacy in Britain, Polity Press: Cambridge.

Smith, S. J. (1990) Health status and the housing system, Social Science and Medicine 31: 753-762.

Smith, S. J. (1991) Housing Opportunities for People with Health Needs: An Overview in eds. Smith, S. J. Knill-Jones and R. McGurkin, A. Housing for Health, Longman: London.

Smith, S. J. and Mercer, J. (1987) The Politics of Housing and Race: Perspectives from Great Britain, the United States and France, in eds. Smith, S. J. and Mercer, J. New Perspectives on Race and Housing in Britain, p1-30 Studies in Housing 2, Centre for Housing Research Glasgow University: Glasgow.

Solomon, R. and Murphy, M. (1990) What is Justice? Classic and Contemporary Reading, Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Solomos, J. (1993) Race and Racism in Britain, 2nd edition Macmillan: London.

Somerville, P. (1998) Explanations of social exclusion: where does housing fit in? Housing Studies 13 (6) 749-760.

Spencer, C. and Dixon, J. (1982) Mapping the development of feelings about the city: a longitudinal study of new residents affective maps, Transactions Institute of British Geographers 8 (3) 373-83.

Statistics Users Council. (1995) Attitude Research in the Public Sector, Conference Papers, February 1995 IMAC Research: Esher.

Sterba, J. (1980) The Demands of Justice, University of Notre Dame Press: Indiana.

Sterba, J. (1992) Recent Work on Alternative Conceptions of Justice, in ed. Kymlicka,W. Justice in Political Philosophy, Edward Elgar: Aldershot.

Stewart, C. J. and Cash, W. B. (1989) Interviewing Principles and Practices, 5th edition, William Brown: Dubuque, Iowa.

Stoecker, R. (1991) Evaluating and rethinking the case study, The Sociological Review 39: 88-111 in Yin, K. 1994: 13. Case Study Research: Design and Methods. SAGE: Beverly Hills, California.

Stoker, G. (1991) An evaluation of neighbourhood decentralisation part 2: staff and councillor perspectives, Policy and Politics 20 (2) 143-152.

Stoker, G. Baine, S. Caryle, S. Charters, C. and Du Sautoy, T. (1991) Reflections on neigbourhood decentralisation, Public Administration 69: 373-384.

Swenarton, M. (1981) Homes Fit for Heroes, Heinemann: London.

Taket, A, and Curtis, S. (1989) Locality planning for health care: a case study in East London, Area 21 (4) 357-364.

Taylor, M. (1998) Combating the social exclusion of housing estates, Housing Studies 13 (6) 819-832.

Taylor, P. J. (1979) Difficult to let estates, Environment and Planning A 11: 1305-20.

The Guardian. (1988) Housing policy biased against Bangladeshi, 02.09.88.

The Guardian. (1989) A continuing of sham and shame, 31.03.89.

The Guardian. (1993) Council tread fine legal line on homes allocation, 18. 09.93.

The Guardian. (1994) Urban regeneration, 24.09.94.

The Guardian. (1999) Death of the council house, 03.11.99.

The Guardian. (2000) Going fast society, 02.02.00.

The Guardian. (2001) The issue explained: housing regulation, 20.04.01.

The Guardian. (2002) Housing transfers: the basics, 14.03.02.

The Independent. (1988) Borough is guilty of race bias, 02.09.88.

The Islander. (1983) Houses go up and up, September, Association of Island communities: Isle of Dogs, London.

The Islander. (1984) Housing the cruellest deceit? September, Association of Island communities: Isle of Dogs, London.

The Islander. (1985) Housing: is it for real, Association of Island Communities, June 1985: London.

The Times. (1991) Equality group wins race bias court fight, 19.03.91.

The Times. (1995) Rodney Brooke, letter to Editor Times, 06.07.95.

The Times. (1998) Think on philosophy is a quintessentially modern discipline, 15.08.98.

THHA, Tower Hamlets Health Authority. (1988) Tower Hamlets People: Health Report Number 1, Tower Hamlets Department of Community Medicine: London.

THHFC, Tower Hamlets Homeless Families Campaign. (1984) Homelessness in the Borough: A report, THHFC: London.

Thomas, M. (1983) Construction of an index of housing need based on data from the national dwellings and housing survey, Environment and Planning A 15: 767-779.

Thomas, P. and Palfrey, C. (1996) Evaluation: stakeholder-focused criteria, Social Policy and Administration 30 (2) 125-142.

Tichelar, M. (2000) Role players and authority figures: informal power relationships within local authorities, Policy and Politics 28 (2) 221-31.

Tiesdell, S. and Illmedinger, P. (2001) The New Right and neighbourhood regeneration, Housing Studies 16 (2) 311-334.

Time Out. (1988) Racial equality: race track record, 09.11.88.

Tornblom, K. (1992) The Social Psychology of Distributive Justice, in ed. Scherer, K. Justice Interdisciplinary Perspectives, Cambridge University Press: London 177-236.

Towers, G. (1995) Building Democracy: Community Architecture in the Inner Cities, UCL Press: London.

Truelove, M. (1993) Measurement of spatial equity, Environment and Planning C 11:19-34.

Tunstall, R. (2000) The impact of estate regeneration in eds. Anderson, I. and Sim, D. Social Exclusion and Housing: Context and Challenges, p147-162 Chartered Institute of Housing: Coventry.

Turk, H. (1977) An Inter-organisational View of Pluralism, Elitism, Conflict, and Policy Outputs in Large Communities Organisational in eds. Liebert, A and Imershein A. p51-74 Power Paradigms and Community Research, SAGE: London.

Twine, F. and Williams, N. (1983) Social segregation in public sector housing: a case study, Transactions Institute of British Geographers 8 (3) 253-266.

UK Data Archive. (2002) Legal and Ethical Issues in Interviewing, http://www.qualidata.essex.ac.uk/creatingData/guidelines.asp accessed November 2002.

UN-HABITAT United Nations. (1996) Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) the Istanbul Declaration http://www.unhabitat.org/hpu/unhrp-pub.htm accessed June 2002.

UN-HABITAT United Nations. (2001) Reviewing and Appraising Progress Five Years After Habitat II in June 2001 http://www.unhabitat.org/hpu/unhrp-pub.htm accessed December 2002.

UN-HRP United Nations. (2002) Information Brochure on the United Nations Housing Rights Programme, UN-HRP: Geneva, http://www.unhchr.ch accessed June 2002.

UN-OHCHR United Nations. (2001) United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, UN-OHCHR: http://www.unhchr.ch accessed June 2002.

Urry, J. (1990) Social Relations, Space and Time in eds. Harloe, M. Pickvance, C. and Urry, J. Place, Policy and Politics: do Localities Matter Unwin Hyman: London.

Van Vliet, W. (1990) The Privatisation and Decentralisation of Housing, in Van Vliet, W. and Weesp, J. Government and Housing Development in Seven Countries, p9-24 SAGE: London.

Van Vliet, W. and Van Weesep, J. eds (1990) Government and Housing: Development in Seven Countries, Urban Affairs annual review, SAGE: London.

Vida, J. (1992) London's yearning, The Guardian 26.11.93.

Visser, G. (2000) Social Justice, Integrated Development Planning and Post Apartheid Urban Reconstruction, Environmental and Spatial Analysis Research Paper number 63, London School of Economics: London.

Voight. L, and Thornton, W. (1984) The Limits of Justice: A Sociological Analysis, University Press of America: London.

Walker, R. and Lawn, D. (1988) Social assistance and territorial justice: the example of single payments, Journal of Social Policy 17 (4) 437-476.

Walker, S. (1987) Decentralisation: politicians dream - public nightmare, Tower Power 11: 09.01.87, UNISON: London Borough of Tower Hamlets.

Walzer, M. (1983), Spheres of Justice - A Defence of Pluralism and Equality, Blackwell: Oxford.

Ward, R. (1987) Race and Access to Housing in eds. Smith, S. and Mercer, J. New Perspectives on Race and Housing in Britain, p182 - 218 Studies in Housing 2, Centre for Housing Research Glasgow University: Glasgow.

Webb, E. (1970) Unconventionality, Triangulation and Inference, in ed. Denzin, N. Sociological Methods: A Source Book, Butterworths: London.

Webster, I. (2000) Lone Parenthood: Two Views and their Consequences in eds. Anderson and I. Sim, D. Social Exclusion and Housing: Context and Challenges, p108-130 Chartered Institute of Housing: Coventry.

Whitehead, C. (2002) Response: housing, tenure and opportunity, Housing Studies 17 (1) 63-68.

Wilson, J. Q. ed. (1968) City Politics and Public Policy, p17-65 John Wiley: New York.

Wilson, W. J. (1996) When Work Disappears: the World of the New Urban Poor, Knopf: New York.

Winchester, H. (1996) Ethical issues in interviewing as a research method in human geography, Australian Geographer 1 (2) 117-131.

Winn, N. (2001) Choice in Lettings, Bridge Project Housing Corporation: London.

Woodhouse, P. (1998) People as Informants in eds. Thomas, A. Chataway, J. and Wuyts, M. Finding Out Fast: Investigative Skills for Policy and Development 127-146, SAGEPublications: London.

Ye-Myint, C. (1992) Who's Hiding: A Report into "Non-Priority Homelessness" Amongst People from Black and Ethnic Communities in Tower Hamlets, No Fixed Abode: London.

Yin, R. (1994) Case Study Research: Design and Methods, 2nd edition, SAGE: Beverly Hills, California.

Yin, R. and Heald, K. (1975) Using the case survey method to analyse policy studies, Administrative Science Quarterly 20 (3) 371-381.

Young, I. M. (1990) Justice and the Politics of Difference, Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey.

Young, K. (1977) Values in the policy process, Policy and Politics 5: 1-22.

Young, K. (1990) Approaches to Policy Development in the Field of Equal Opportunities, in eds. Ball, W. and Solomos, J. Race and Local Politics, Macmillan: Basingstoke.

Young, K. Mason, M. and Mills, E. (1980) Urban Government and Economic Change, Social Science Research Council: London 50 - 62.

Young, M. and Willmott, P. (1957) Family and Kinship in East London, Penguin: Harmondsworth.